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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER, SOCIAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS FATHER-DAUGHTER INCEST: A PUBLIC SURVEY

BY

BARBARA JOAN McKENZIE

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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ABSTRACT

A mail-out survey of the general public investigated incidence data, opinions on case management decisions, and the relationship among gender, social values (Attitudes towards Women Scale (AWS), Value-Orthodoxy Scale (VOS)) and attitudes towards father-daughter incest (Attitudes towards Incest Scale (ATI), Jackson Incest Blame Scale (JIBS)). It was hypothesized that liberal, profeminist views would be associated with more informed views on incest, that males and females would differ in their incest attitudes, and that males would blame the victim more than would females.

Among the 300 respondents, past childhood sexual abuse occurred in 21.7% of 207 females and 6.5% of 93 males. Based on a fictitious scenario of father-daughter incest, most respondents indicated they would report and prosecute a case of incest and support the father's removal from home with a combination of treatment and imprisonment.

In order to replicate previous research on the JIBS, the data were factor analyzed. Five subscales emerged regarding attribution of incest blame: Victim, Situational, Societal, Offender and Offender Mental Status. To establish factorial validity for the ATI, the

relevant data were also factor analysed. Two subscales emerged for female subjects (Credibility, Parental Role), and three subscales emerged for male subjects (Credibility, Victimization, Power Dynamic).

On the ATI, respondents generally adopted child advocate views, females significantly more so than males. On the JIBS, respondents blamed offender most and victim least; males blamed the victim significantly more than did females.

More liberal, profeminist social values were associated with more informed, less stereotypical attitudes towards incest.

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From its initial conceptualization, this study was over two years duration. As the demands of the project changed, the help I needed changed; at each point I was grateful and encouraged by the assistance others so willingly provided.

Major pitfalls in data collection were sidestepped with the advice of Mr. Cliff Kinzel, at the Population Research Laboratory at the University of Alberta, who also generously provided me with the randomized list of telephone numbers.

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Throughout the trials and tribulations of my doctoral program my husband, Don, has been an unending source of love and support, as have been my children, Lauren and Jill.

At this milestone in my life, the sudden loss of my mother-in-law and father-in-law, Helen and Bill McKenzie, is especially difficult; they were inspirational role models who took great pleasure in their family's accomplishments. I cannot share this achievement with them but dedicate this study to their memory.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
ABSTRACT		iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS		ix
LIST OF TABLES		xvii
LIST OF FIGURES		xxi
CHAPTER 1:	INTRODUCTION	1
	Nature of the Problem	5
	Purpose of the Study	6
	Implications of the Study	7
	Definition of Terms	8
	Limitations of the Study	8
CHAPTER 2:	REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	10
	Father-Daughter Incest: Issues Concerning Definition and Incidence	10
	Comparison of Anthropological and Clinical Definitions	10
	Comparison of Legal and Clinical Definitions	17

Page

Incidence and Demographic Data 22

Predominant Clinical Views 27

The Psychodynamic Perspective on

Father-Daughter Incest 28

Role of the Child 31

Role of the Mother 37

Role of the Father 38

Family Systems Theory and

Father-Daughter Incest 38

Incest as an Indicator of

Family Dysfunction 39

Role of the Child 42

Role of the Mother 44

Role of the Father 46

Incest as an Adaptive Function. . . 48

Feminist Perspectives and

Father-Daughter Incest 50

Father-Daughter Incest and

Social Context. 51

Role of the Father 54

Role of the Mother 55

Page

The Child Advocate Position 60

Role of the Child 61

The Long Term Effects of Childhood Sexual Abuse - Adult Survivors 66

Research Pertaining to Incest Attitudes 69

Implications for the Present Study 74

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY 78

Procedures 78

Instruments 80

Subjects 97

Age 98

Marital Status 98

Children 98

Education 99

Occupation 99

Summary of Demographic Features . . . 100

Research Questions 100

Data Analysis 102

Page

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION 106

Response Rates to the Questionnaire . . . 107

Incidence of Childhood Sexual

Abuse Among Respondents 109

Isolated Incident(s) 111

Extended Sexual Abuse 114

Implications of Incidence Data 116

Investigation of Case Management Issues . 117

Decision to Report 118

Decision to Remove Father

and/or Daughter 120

Decision to Prosecute 121

Court Outcome for Father 123

Description and Analyses of Scales

Included in the Questionnaire 125

Value Orthodoxy Scale 127

Attitudes towards Women Scale 128

Attitudes towards Incest Scale 130

Factor Analyses of the Attitudes

towards Incest Scale 131

Female Subjects 132

Page

Male Subjects 138

Discussion of Analyses of the Attitudes towards Incest Scale 146

Descriptive Statistics and Factor Analysis of the Jackson Incest Blame Scale 148

Investigation of Hypotheses and Discussion of Findings 156

Correlations Among Variables and Scales 156

Regression Analyses 165

Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Female Subjects 166

Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Male Subjects 167

Jackson Incest Blame Subscales - Female Subjects 168

Jackson Incest Blame Subscales - Male Subjects 169

Additional Investigations on Variables Influencing Incest Attitudes 170

Page

Tests on the Jackson Incest Blame Scale 172

Tests on the Attitudes towards Incest Scale 173

ATI: Relationship to Sex and Value-Orthodoxy 173

ATI: Relationship to Sex and Education 176

ATI: Relationship to Sex and Attitudes towards Women 180

Comparison of the Effects of Isolated Incident(s) vs. Extended Sexual Abuse 181

Summary of Findings and Implications for Hypotheses 184

Hypothesis 1 185

The Relationship Between the VOS and the ATI 185

The Relationship Between the VOS and the JIBS 186

Hypothesis 2 187

Page

The Relationship Between the AWS and the ATI 188

The Relationship Between the AWS and the JIBS 189

Hypothesis 3 189

The Relationship Between Sex and the ATI 190

The Relationship Between Sex and the JIBS 191

Hypothesis 4 191

Other Significant Findings 192

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS 195

Implications of Findings and Recommendations for Further Research . . 199

BIBLIOGRAPHY 205

FOOTNOTES 212

APPENDIX A: GUIDELINES FOR TELEPHONE INTERVIEW . . . 213

APPENDIX B: COVER LETTER 215

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE 217

APPENDIX D: SUMMARY OF TELEPHONE CALLS 236

APPENDIX E: SUMMARY OF INVALID QUESTIONNAIRES . . . 238

Page

APPENDIX F: AGE OF RESPONDENTS 240

APPENDIX G: DISTRIBUTION OF AGE CATEGORIES OF RESPONDENTS (PER CENT) 242

APPENDIX H: MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS 244

APPENDIX I: SUMMARY OF RESPONDENTS HAVING CHILDREN . 246

APPENDIX J: EDUCATION LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS 248

APPENDIX K: OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF RESPONDENTS . 250

APPENDIX L: ANALYSES OF VARIANCE 252

APPENDIX M: LETTERS OF PERMISSION TO USE COPYRIGHTED MATERIALS 259

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table 1:	Relationship of the Offender to Sexual Abuse Victim	26
Table 2:	Demographic Information	80
Table 3:	The Value-Orthodoxy Scale (Jackson, 1976)	82
Table 4:	The Attitudes towards Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1978)	84
Table 5:	The Attitudes towards Incest Scale (Ciccone, 1982)	87
Table 6:	The Jackson Incest Blame Scale (Jackson & Ferguson, 1983)	92
Table 7:	Case Management Scenario and Questions	94
Table 8:	Summary of Agreement or Refusal to Participate	108
Table 9:	Summary of Questionnaire Mailout and Return Rate	109
Table 10:	Incidence of Sexual Abuse as Children Among Respondents	111
Table 11:	Past Sexual Abuse - Single Incident: Relationship of Offender to Victim	113
Table 12:	Past Sexual Abuse - More than One Incident: Relationship of Offender to Victim	114
Table 13:	Past Sexual Abuse - Over Extended Time Period: Relationship of Offender to Victim	115
Table 14:	Comparison of Retrospective Incidence Data (Per Cent) on Childhood Sexual Abuse	116

Page

Table 15: Case Management Issues - Decision to Report 118

Table 16: Case Management Issues - Decision to Remove Father and/or Daughter 121

Table 17: Case Management Issues - Decision to Prosecute 122

Table 18: Case Management Issues - Court Outcome for Father 124

Table 19: Value-Orthodoxy Scale Descriptive Statistics 128

Table 20: Attitudes towards Women Scale Descriptive Statistics 129

Table 21: Attitudes towards Incest Scale Descriptive Statistics 130

Table 22: Factor Loadings for Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Female Sample 135

Table 23: Finalized List of Subscale Items for Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Female Sample 136

Table 24: Descriptive Statistics for Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Female Subscales . . 137

Table 25: Factor Loadings for Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Male Sample 139

Table 26: Finalized List of Subscale Items for Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Male Sample 140

Table 27: Comparison of Female and Male Subjects on the Credibility Subscale 143

Table 28: Descriptive Statistics for Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Male Subscales . . . 145

Page

Table 29: Factor Loadings on Jackson Incest Blame Scale - Total Sample 150

Table 30: List of Subscale Items for Jackson Incest Blame Scale 152

Table 31: Jackson Incest Blame Scale Descriptive Statistics for Subscales 156

Table 32: Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Scales and Independent Variables 157

Table 33: Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Jackson Incest Blame Scale Subscales and Independent Variables 159

Table 34: Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Attitudes towards Incest Scale Female Subscales and Independent Variables 160

Table 35: Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Attitudes towards Incest Scale Male Subscales and Independent Variables 161

Table 36: Notable Correlations Between Attitudes towards Incest Scale Subscales and Jackson Incest Blame Scale Subscales . . . 163

Table 37: Stepwise Regression with Credibility Subscale as Dependent Variable for Female Subjects 166

Table 38: Stepwise Regression with Attitudes towards Incest Total Score as Dependent Variable for Male Subjects 168

Table 39: Stepwise Regression with the Societal Blame Subscale as Dependent Variable for Female Subjects 169

Table 40: Stepwise Regression with the Societal Blame Subscale as Dependent Variable for Male Subjects 170

Page

Table 41: Variables Used in Additional Investigations 171

Table 42: Conservative vs. Liberal Groups on JIBS Subscales 172

Table 43: Mean Scores for Attitudes towards Incest Total Score Blocking on Sex and Value-Orthodoxy Scale Score 176

Table 44: Mean Scores for Attitudes towards Incest Scale Total Score Blocking on Sex and Education 179

Table 45: Mean Scores for Attitudes towards Incest Scale Total Scores Blocking on Sex and Attitudes towards Women Scale Score 181

Table 46: Comparison of Mean Scores for Extent of Sexual Abuse 182

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

Figure 1: Interpretation of Scale Scores 125

Figure 2: Interaction Between Sex and Conservative vs. Liberal VOS Scores for the ATI Total Score 175

Figure 3: Interaction Between Sex and Education for the ATI Total Score 178

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

That father-daughter incest is a prevalent and complex social problem is now well recognized (e.g., Courtois, 1988). Accordingly, literature on this topic has greatly expanded over the past 15 years. Investigations have been primarily directed at determining demographic and incidence data, examining family dynamics and individual pathology, addressing the issue of harm and establishing approaches to treatment. Despite this progress, research regarding perceptions, attitudes and opinions towards father-daughter incest has been relatively limited.

Momentum for the intensive research efforts into child sexual abuse and incest has been generated, in part, by the documentation of incidence data. In a comprehensive review of incidence data, Alter-Reid, Gibbs, Lachenmeyer, Sigal & Massoth (1986) cited studies which estimated the occurrence of child sexual abuse (including incest) at approximately 1 in 20 female children under age 16 and the occurrence of incest at approximately 1 in 13 female children under age

14. A general consensus in the recent literature is that child sexual abuse and incest are not rare occurrences. That incest is universally taboo becomes a debatable premise in light of these statistics.

One interpretation of the incest "taboo" is offered by the feminist perspective which asserts that incest itself is not taboo, but rather that admission of its occurrence is the taboo issue (e.g., Butler, 1978; Herman, 1981). Consistent with this position is that societal views and attitudes, while not necessarily endorsing incest, are structured such that incest becomes a by-product. A central tenet in this perspective is that traditional values foster sexual stereotypes within a patriarchal society wherein women and children are devalued (e.g. Rush, 1980). Consideration of this viewpoint allows for the hypothesis that conservative social values and traditional attitudes towards women are directly related to perceptions of incest. Furthermore, perceptions of incest derived from these bases allow for its perpetuation in a society which, theoretically, abhors it. This paradox represents the crux of the research focus of the present study.

Consistent with the inconsistent nature of paradox, it is postulated that conformity to traditional social values spawns attitudes which contribute on two levels to the perpetuation of incest and other forms of child sexual abuse. First, embedded within conformity to traditional social values are traditional attitudes concerning the merit and roles of women and children in our society. From a traditionalist's stance, women and children are somehow less than men and this imbalance of power invites misuse, sexual abuse of women and children by men being but one manifestation. Second, the rigid nature of conforming, traditional views predisposes the interpretation of father-daughter incest to be in terms of the sexual stereotypes which underlie many of the myths of father-daughter incest (e.g., the child as a seductress).

That social values underlie and determine attitudes towards incest is an area which has not been addressed in the literature. A study by Jackson and Ferguson (1983) revealed some findings which provide support for the investigation of underlying attitudes. These investigators conducted a survey of 412 undergraduate students (201 male and 211 female). A questionnaire adapted from research on rape was administered and the data were factor-analysed.

Four factors emerged for attribution of blame: situational blame (e.g., family conditions; alcohol use; socio-economic status), victim blame (e.g., victims encourage the offence; victims deserve the abuse), societal blame (e.g., media influence; prevailing morality; people as sex objects) and offender blame (e.g., mental illness; uncontrollable urges). Calculation of mean factor scores (correcting for the number of items contributing to each factor) showed that overall, most blame was attributed to the offender followed by situational, societal and victim blame, respectively. A notable finding was that males attributed significantly more blame to the victim than did female respondents.

Of relevance to the present study is that there exist attitudes towards incest which have been consistently identified and which also vary consistently by gender. The present study is an attempt to further explore and identify attitudes towards incest, with particular attention to the relationships between gender, social values and attitudes towards father-daughter incest.

Nature of the Problem

That father-daughter incest is purportedly taboo in our society is challenged by its prevalence. This incongruity invites speculation that the frequency of father-daughter incest is an occurrence perpetuated, at least in part, by pervasive social values.

Although the relationship between underlying social values and attitudes towards father-daughter incest has not been investigated, research on attribution of blame in father-daughter incest demonstrates consistent findings. Most notably, predictable patterns of attributing blame, indicative of pervasive attitudes, and sex differences wherein males blame the victim more than females have been documented (e.g., Jackson & Ferguson, 1983; Jackson & Sandberg, 1985). These findings support the hypothesis that those social values influencing attitudes towards father-daughter incest are related to gender and predominant social views, including social conformity and traditional attitudes towards women.

Purpose of the Study

The present study represents an attempt to delineate the relationship between traditional social values and attitudes towards father-daughter incest. The hypotheses investigated were developed from the premise that social conformity and traditional views of women predispose the interpretation of father-daughter incest in terms of sexual stereotypes which underlie many of the myths surrounding father-daughter incest. Such interpretations are evident in endorsing predictable misconceptions concerning father-daughter incest. More specifically, it was hypothesized that:

1. Conservative social values will show a direct relationship to attitudes towards incest. That is, more orthodox social values will be associated with greater attribution of blame in general and endorsement of less informed, more stereotypical views towards father-daughter incest.

2. Traditional attitudes towards women will show a direct relationship to attitudes towards incest in the same manner as noted above, but with greater attribution of blame to the victim.

3. Males and females will differ in their attitudes towards father-daughter incest, specifically in their attribution of blame. It was hypothesized that males will blame victims more than will females.

4. Attitudes towards women will better predict attitudes towards father-daughter incest than will social values.

Implications of the Study

As will be evident in the following chapter, the clinical literature on father-daughter incest is a collage of opinions and conclusions, with a paucity of sound empirical work to validate any of the various theoretical positions.

On a theoretical level, the present study is of academic interest in that it reflects an objective attempt to validate many of the views associated with feminist perspectives on father-daughter incest.

The discouraging disparities between incidence data for incest and the actual detection and treatment of cases underscores the need for greater public awareness, concern and involvement in cases of incest and child sexual abuse.

In terms of practical significance, the present study thus provides current incidence data as well as a profile of the sophistication of a segment of the general public's attitudes and beliefs regarding father-daughter incest.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of the present study, a definition for the term "incest" was included prior to the start of the incest-related questions of the questionnaire (Appendix C). Unless otherwise specified, "incest" was defined as any form of sexual contact between father and daughter or stepfather and stepdaughter which would generally be viewed as socially unacceptable (e.g., fondling of genitals, deep kissing, sexual intercourse).

Limitations of the Study

Given that the focus of the present study was to conduct a public survey on aspects of father-daughter incest, this research was limited by the difficulties inherent in such a survey. Included among these difficulties is lack of the true randomness of the sample

and response biases introduced by the fact only interested and/or cooperative respondents completed the questionnaire. Thus, attitudes regarding father-daughter incest are represented only among the cooperative segment of those contacted; attitudes among those refusing to complete the questionnaire remain unknown.

As noted above, a definition for the term "father-daughter incest" was included in an attempt to ensure respondents were responding to questionnaire items using the same definition. Despite this control, however, it is most likely respondents also incorporated or associated other unknown concepts with the term "father-daughter incest" and so were responding to questionnaire items from a variety of perspectives.

A similar limitation is noted on the question asking respondents if they were a victim of childhood sexual abuse and, if so, whether the abuse involved (an) isolated incident(s) or if it continued over an extended period of time. Although these terms (i.e., extended period, isolated incidents) appear to be self-evident, it remains uncertain as to how they were interpreted by respondents.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Father-Daughter Incest: Issues Concerning Definition and Incidence

There are several disciplines concerned with defining incest and exploring the significance of its occurrence. Although clear distinctions can be drawn among anthropological, legal and clinical perspectives, it is suggested that clinical approaches have been both influenced and limited by legal and anthropological definitions of incest.

Comparison of Anthropological and Clinical Definitions

Anthropological perspectives primarily reflect attention to the incest taboo as a cross-cultural phenomenon with biological bases and its importance in the evolution and maintenance of various social structures (e.g., Bischoff, 1972). From this viewpoint, incest is defined as (culturally prohibited) sexual relations between

two people of the same kinship (e.g., Aberle, Bronfenbrenner, Hess, Miller, Schneider & Spuhler, 1963). The scope of the incest taboo varies across cultures but, as Bischoff (1972) discussed, there are several universal principles:

1. The incest taboo applies to all potential sexual partners within the nuclear family (with very rare exceptions, involving royal privilege or certain rituals).

2. Most taboos extend to at least a few relatives of the second or third consanguinity.

3. Outside the nuclear family there is no degree of relationship which universally applies; the strictness of the taboo decreases with a decrease in the degree of consanguinity; the taboos show marked variability to the biological degree of relationship.

4. The taboos are correlated highly with the conventional kinship grouping.

5. Violation of the incest taboo typically meets with a collectively negative reaction.

6. In all cultures, violations of valid incest taboos occur.

There has been considerable theorizing and debate as to the origin and function of incest taboos. Basically, these viewpoints can be divided into those factors which discourage endogamy and those which would encourage exogamy. Examples of the former include the observation that genetic disadvantages occur among offspring of incestuous couples (e.g., Lindzey, 1967), and that incestuous relationships would produce conflict incompatible with a cohesive family unit and the demands of lengthy child-rearing (e.g., Lester, 1972; Aberle et.al., 1963). Factors viewed as encouraging exogamy centre on the genetic advantages (e.g., Bischoff, 1972) and the establishment of extended trade networks (e.g., Cohen, 1978).

Having developed from a pragmatic emphasis on the psychological significance of the sexual involvement to the individuals involved, the clinical perspective differs markedly from anthropological definitions. To the counselling professional, the term "incest" is typically defined (albeit incorrectly) as any form of sexual contact between a child and his/her caretaker (e.g., Herman, 1981). Due to its relative prevalence, clinical

discussions of incest have largely focused on father-daughter (or stepfather- stepdaughter) involvement. The significance of blood relations between individuals is less important in clinical considerations than is recognition of the caretaker-dependent child relationship and the concommitant misuse of the parental position in establishing the incestuous relationship. Within the clinical arena, there are several schools of thought regarding incest. Although these perspectives vary in their interpretations of variables such as family dynamics, degree of harm, and role of the child, mother and father, their focus is consistent in being on psychological, emotional and family factors.

Comparison of anthropological definitions of incest with clinical interpretations reveals critical differences. It is suggested that psychologists have, to some extent, inappropriately imposed anthropological concepts upon clinical definitions of incest and that such transposition of concepts is both inappropriate and potentially destructive.

That is, anthropology's focus is very broad, encompassing cultures or whole societies. As such, investigations are, quite appropriately, detached from

examining the emotional meaning of taboo sexual involvement to each individual. In the reality of a clinical setting, however, it is the individual's emotional and psychological experience which is of critical importance. Thus, to draw parallels between anthropological findings and clinical cases is to ignore the vastly different mandates each discipline holds.

Further, anthropological discussions of the incest taboo are often framed within the context of mateship or marriage, with the valid point being made that incest taboos function to control and direct marital ties. This framework creates several tacit assumptions: that potential "mates" are of comparable or culturally appropriate ages, that there is a mutual agreement to marry and that the barrier stopping this is a cultural taboo based on kinship lines. Clinical considerations of incest in North American society, however, cannot pretend to address the significance of the taboo from the framework of deterring marriages since a potential marriage between father and daughter is not a presenting problem. Clinical concerns are much more likely to be focused on issues of abuse and harm, factors which are not part of the anthropological framework.

The inappropriate application of anthropological constructs to clinical interpretations of father-daughter incest is operational in two ways. First, it encourages a very detached, theoretical approach to compelling case material. Second, and related to the first point, issues of abuse and harm to the child are ultimately obscured and more easily overlooked as discussion focuses on theoretical aspects of the incest taboo. The detrimental impact of this is subtle as demonstrated in the semantics of the following quote from an article which discussed the biological underpinnings of the incest taboo:

> "The image that I am attempting to convey is one of an organism that is wired for choice along dimensions of proximity and similarity, encountering a society or culture that is necessarily programmed for destruction or inhibition of these natural [incestuous] tendencies. Moreover, the person encounters this fundamental opposition at a time when he is poorly equipped to devise mediating and compromising patterns of response." (Lindzey, 1967, p. 1056).

Note use of the word "organism" rather than child. As well, the phrases "wired for choice" and "natural tendencies" are consistent with Freudian concepts of

incestuous drives in children, and imply the child unconsciously desires or strives for incestuous relations. Also interesting is the use of the word "person" rather than child, and of the pronoun "he" given that female victims far exceed the number of male incest victims (e.g., Mrazek, Lynch & Bentovim, 1983).

At its most extreme, application of anthropological constructs are used in clinical literature to question the necessity of the incest taboo and the harmfulness of father-daughter incest. Henderson (1983) interpreted the rising incidence of reported incest cases as evidence of a weakening taboo. He cited the disappearance of the taboo against masturbation as evidence of a parallel development in banishing the incest taboo. Henderson (1983) dismissed emotional and somatic complaints of incest victims as pre-existing variables which predisposed the child to incestuous involvement and states that: ". . . we can legitimately ask whether incest has any existence outside of the incest taboo. Is the harmfulness of incest solely a consequence of the shame and guilt attendant on violating a taboo?" (p. 35).

Comparison of Legal and Clinical Definitions of Incest

Legal definitions and legal treatment of incest and child sexual assault reflect attempts to recognize, operationalize and punish its occurrence in modern North American society. It must be noted that the following discussion pertains to legal interpretations of incest and child sexual assault as they are outlined under statute law, and does not attempt to address the more complex interpretations which are documented under case law.

"Incest" in the legal sense is a restricted term confined to addressing the occurrence of sexual intercourse between blood members of the nuclear family (Martin's Criminal Code, 1988). Anthropology's influence is evident in the creation of a separate offence for sexual intercourse between nuclear family (blood) relatives. Clinical influences are evident, however, in the relatively recent qualification that participation by an individual acting under duress precludes that individual from being found guilty of incest. Although indirect, this qualification appears to recognize the power imbalance and

coercive elements underlying many cases of incest, particularly those involving parent and child. It is noted that while this qualification affords the child protection from prosecution, it is incomplete in that it does not recognize breach of trust by the parent. That is, the legal definition of incest is confined to physical characteristics (i.e., sexual intercourse) and fails to recognize the coercion and misuse of power, however subtle, on the part of a parent who commits incest.

Similarly, legal definitions of other forms of familial sexual abuse (including sexual intercourse with step-daughter, foster daughter or female ward) and more general sexual assault offences (e.g., gross indecency, sexual assault) do not explicitly recognize issues of the misuse of parental authority and emotional coercion inherent to such acts. While the intent of this discussion is not to challenge legal definitions, it is noted that, in terms of perceptions of child sexual abuse, there is a significant gap between the legal system and the clinical realm.

In general, in accordance with rules of evidence imposed by the courts, legal definitions focus on physical descriptions of sexual behavior while clinical perspectives

stress the centrality of power imbalances, emotional coercion, misuse of parental authority and breach of trust. That the two disciplines speak a different dialect, if not a different language, in terms of incest and child sexual abuse creates significant barriers to mutual understanding. From a clinician's stance, such barriers are fortified by the fact that the legal discipline is all-powerful in its capacity to implement consequences and/or effect changes.

In 1981, the federal government established the Committee on Sexual Offences against Children & Youths, commonly known as the Badgley Committee, after its chairman. Legal definitions of sexual offences against children have been reviewed by the Badgley Committee (Robertson, 1988) and specific recommendations drafted. Impetus for such reviews was generated following publication of the original Badgley Report (1984) which made the extent of sexual offences against children in Canada an uncomfortable reality. A number of issues were addressed in the review, including legal definition, pornography and trial process. Those recommendations pertinent to this discussion are outlined below.

1. The recommendation that a new criminal offence be created which deals specifically with unlawful sexual conduct with children. This would allow prosecution despite the often nonassaultative nature of the abuse. As well, this would afford less reliance on current Criminal Code acts which are often inadequate or rather inaccurate (e.g., sexual assault, gross indecency).

Also recommended was creation of the offence of "touching a person under 16 for sexual purposes in the genital or oral region with any part of his or her body or with any object" (p. 4). In essence, sexual touching would be viewed more seriously than the current offence of sexual assault.

Consent of the child and/or the belief the child was older would be no defense.

2. Retention of the current offences of unlawful sexual intercourse which, according to the Badgley Committee (1988), demonstrates appreciation of the fact that sexual intercourse may be potentially damaging to young females (e.g., pregnancy, venereal disease) and thus warrants specific prohibition.

3. Creation of a specific offence of "sexual conduct with children by persons in a position of authority over them or upon whom the children are dependent in some way." (p. 5). Trust positions are broadly defined (e.g., teacher, parent). Consent of the child would be no defense.

4. Retention of the offence of incest on the basis that it preserves recognition of the potentially negative genetic consequences and provides another potential means to prosecute an offender and protect children.

5. Creation of the offence of "inviting, counselling or causing a child (under 14) to touch that person's (or another's) body for sexual purposes" (p. 7).

Although the proposed amendments are far from being operational, it would appear that the proposed legal definitions are more sensitive to clinical issues and the child, particularly concerning inability to provide informed consent and misuse of trust or authority.

For the purposes of the present study, discussions of father-daughter incest were limited to the most clinically recognized form, father-daughter or stepfather-stepdaughter incest. The term "incest" was used in the clinical sense then, to denote any form of sexual contact between a female

child and her paternal caretaker. As well, because the clinical literature generally recognizes that father-daughter incest is, in essence, a form of sexual assault (e.g., Rush, 1980; Sgroi, 1982), discussions of father-daughter incest were, when appropriate, subsumed under the broader category of child sexual abuse. Conversely, however, considerations of child sexual abuse were largely confined to a frequent form - ongoing sexual assault of a female child by her paternal caretaker (e.g., Finkelhor, 1983).

Incidence and Demographic Data

Since the seal of silence regarding sexual abuse of children was broken in the last decade, there have been rigorous efforts to establish incidence and demographic data on child sexual abuse. The Canadian epidemological study compiled by The Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths (The Badgley Report, 1984) published detailed data on child sexual abuse. Based on a representative survey of 2,000 Canadians, the Badgley Report (1984) cited the incidence of unwanted sexual acts as occurring to one in two females and one in three males.

Eighty per cent of these victims were under 18 at the time of the incident. Unwanted sexual acts were defined to include being exposed to, sexually threatened, touched, or the target of sexual assault or attempted sexual assault. Of the unwanted sexual acts, it was noted that the majority were committed by a person already known to the child.

A review of seven major studies on characteristics of child sexual abuse was completed by Alter-Reid, Gibbs, Lachenmeyer, Sigal and Massoth (1986). Consistent trends across the different data pools were apparent. Incidence of reported child sexual abuse was cited by Alter-Reid et.al. (1986) as approximately 1.2/1000; extrapolation to account for reported and unreported cases yielded an estimated incidence of 4.2/1000 children. These estimates correspond closely with findings reported by Mrazek, Lynch and Bentovim (1983) which estimated an incidence of 3/1000.

It is noted, however, that incidence data derived from reported cases appear to be very conservative estimates compared to data obtained from adult retrospective studies. Herman (1981) cited data collected from a random sample of college undergraduates in which 19% of women and 9% of men had been molested by an adult when they were 17 years of age or younger. Excluding isolated, non-physical

contacts (e.g., exhibitionism) yielded an incidence of 14.4 percent of children. Of these, over 50 per cent of the encounters involved physical force and over 40 percent occurred more than once. Given that studies reviewed by Alter-Reid et.al. (1986) are consistent in estimating incestuous encounters as comprising 24.43% of the total child sexual abuse incidents, the frequency with which children are sexually abused by members of their own family becomes an alarming reality.

That estimates based on reported cases are markedly less than those collected from retrospective investigations invites two deductions. First, a child experiencing sexual abuse can, by whatever means, be effectively silenced until adulthood and perhaps forever. Second, the effectiveness by which the child is silenced clearly implies that the taboo surrounding child sexual abuse is not one forbidding its occurrence but rather one which limits its disclosure.

Examination of victim characteristics also yields notable consistencies. The ratio of female to male victims has been documented as comprising 82-90% female victims and 10-18% male victims (e.g., Alter-Reid et.al., 1986; Cantwell, 1981; DeFrancis, 1969). Thus, girls are the object of choice in child sexual abuse.

Examining age of the victims has indicated that the majority are prepubescent when the abuse is first investigated. For example, Cantwell (1981) examined 226 victims of sexual abuse and noted that 47% were seven to twelve years of age while 16% were under six years of age at the time the abuse was reported.

These statistics on age of victims provide convincing evidence that sexual maturity is not a contributing factor in child sexual abuse. In fact, given that most cases of familial sexual abuse occur over protracted time periods (e.g., Sgroi, 1982), and that disclosure does not typically occur until the pressure of the situation becomes unbearable to the child (e.g., Herman, 1981), estimates of victim age taken from reported cases very likely underestimate the age at which sexual abuse is instigated. Thus, contrary to "normal" adult heterosexuality, emotional and physical maturity appear to be counterindications for establishing a pattern of sexual abuse against a child.

Attention to offender characteristics has established that for the majority of child sexual abuse cases, the perpetrator is known to the victim. Alter-Reid et.al. (1986) reported research which revealed that the perpetrator is a relative or acquaintance in 54% to 89% of

cases. Among perpetrators known to the child, data has indicated that natural fathers or stepfathers are most likely to be the offender followed by family "friends". Examples of such findings are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Relationship of Offender to Sexual Abuse Victim

Perpetrator	% of Cases[a]	
	Cantwell et.al. (1981) (n = 226)	Mrazek et.al. (1983) (n = 218)
Father	26.5	20.6
Stepfather	27.5	11.4
Family Acquaintance	19.0	31.0
Strangers	16.5	26.0

[a]May not total 100% as not all types of offenders were included.

Thus, parental concerns of strangers molesting their children are misplaced - these data would indicate that the child is at highest risk among those whom she knows and trusts.

That child sexual assault occurs and is an occurrence of significant proportion has been firmly established in the literature. Acceptance of these statistics has challenged clinicians on two fronts. On a macroscopic level, the prevalence of incest and other forms of child sexual assault must be reconciled with social values which supposedly oppose its occurrence. Second, on a microscopic level, the impact of sexual abuse on the victim, family and offender must be recognized and operationalized in a manner amenable to clinical intervention. Issues posed by these challenges are discussed in the following section.

Predominant Clinical Views

Within the clinical realm, three major schools of thought present divergent interpretations of father-daughter incest. The first, psychodynamic theories of incest, reflects the pioneer efforts to establish psychologically-based views of incest. Although much of the literature is dated, its initial influence was very powerful, reverberations of which are still evident in current literature.

Systems-oriented interpretations of incest, with emphasis on the family unit appear to be much more objective and modern than psychodynamic views. The popularity of systemic approaches in the counselling field have vitalized this outlook and it is a major force today.

The third perspective, the feminist interpretation of father-daughter incest, clearly aligns itself with a child-advocate position. Along with systems-theory, the feminist perspective offers a predominant viewpoint. Each of these views will be presented and examined critically below.

The Psychodynamic Perspective on Father-Daughter Incest

Freud's discussion of instinctive sexual urges in young children in conjunction with his clinical devotion to exploring the etiology of hysteria laid the foundation for his theory of father-daughter incest. Freud theorized that infancy and childhood are marked by the occurrence of strong erotic drives, a predominant feature being the Oedipus complex, or sexual attraction by the child for the opposite-sex parent (e.g., Freud, 1933). The frequent

accounts of childhood incest experiences related to Freud by adult female patients were, therefore, attributed to manifestations of the Oedipus complex and, in essence, to fantasy.

As Rush (1980) detailed, it was not until the 1950 publication of previously protected material that academia had the opportunity to realize Freud's influential theories of incest were, in fact, ad hoc revisions of his original views. That is, Freud originally believed his patient's memories of being molested and/or raped by their paternal caretaker. The discomfort created in Freud by this radical perspective impelled him to "re-evaluate" his clinical opinion. As a result, the Oedipal interpretation and seduction theory were promoted.

Freud's dilution of his original views is evident in the ambivalence of the following quote from a 1915-1917 lecture series: "The phantasy of seduction has special interest because only too often it is no phantasy but a real remembrance; fortunately it is still not as often real as it first seemed from the results of analysis." (p. 323; 1920).

His alliance with the seduction theory was crystallized in his works some sixteen years later:

> "You will remember that interesting episode in the history of analytical research which caused me so many painful hours? At the time when my main interest was directed on to the discovery of infantile sexual traumas, almost all my female patients told me they had been seduced by their fathers. Eventually I was forced to the conclusion that these stories were false, and thus I came to understand that hysterical symptoms spring from phantasies and not from real events. Only later was I able to recognize in this phantasy of seduction by the father the expression of the typical Oedipus-complex in women." (p. 164, 1933).

Further undermining Freud's credibility is evidence indicating he falsified case records. That is, in several cases where he believed that sexual molestation had truly occurred, he altered the abuser's identity from that of father to that of uncle or, more creatively, to a governess or same age child (e.g., Rush, 1980).

The ethics of Freud's actions and the dynamics motivating him to distort the reality of father-daughter incest are, in themselves, interesting topics for

speculation. To the clinician, however, the implications of Freud's theory are far more pragmatic. It is suggested that several Freudian themes are pervasive throughout the literature on child sexual abuse. Included among these themes are interpretations of the child as seductive, the child as fantasizing and the mother as holding a collusive, pivotal position in the occurrence of father-daughter incest.

Role of the Child

Endowing the child with instinctive sexual urges and the capacity for Oedipal fantasy ensures that the etiology of incest lies in the child's psyche. Ramifications of this perspective are far-reaching. Of critical importance, the child becomes the genesis of accounts of incest and this frequently translates into responsibility for its occurrence, fantasized or otherwise. Responsibility is attributed in two ways. First, being driven by erotic urges, the child is inherently seductive and therefore invites her sexual abuse. Second, with her propensity for Oedipal fantasy, the child's reports of molestation are likely fictitious and best not to be believed. While strict adherence to psychoanalytic terms and concepts are

no longer in vogue, the child as seductive and/or fantasizing is a perspective whose lineage can be traced from Freud through to current literature.

Early studies on child-adult sexual involvement promoted the concept of the child as seducer (e.g., Bender & Blau, 1937, Sloane & Kapinski, 1942). For example, Bender and Blau (1937) used 16 case studies and concluded that the child was not a victim but a willing participant in sexual relations with adults. To support this conclusion, the authors noted that the children did not show any overt signs of guilt, fear or anxiety but were calm and candid in their discussion of the sexual activity. As well, they possessed "unusually charming and attractive personalities". (p. 511). Poor scholastic performance, immature behavior, hyperactivity, poor social skills and "increased sex interest" were also noted but interpreted as either nonsignificant features or as variables predisposing the sexual involvement.

Despite the 50 years that have elapsed since the publication of their study, Bender and Blau's (1937) findings are still enlisted to support arguments for the seductive or compliant nature of the child and/or the lack

of harm caused by her sexual involvement (e.g., Banmen, 1982; Henderson, 1983). However, armed with the current knowledge of child sexual abuse, closer scrutiny of Bender and Blau's (1937) case findings raises some doubts as to the validity of their conclusions. More specifically, low academic achievement, poor social skills and inappropriate sexual overtures are now well recognized signs of a sexually abused child's emotional distress (e.g., Brant & Tisza, 1977; Price & Valdiseiri, 1981). Thus, Bender and Blau's (1937) conclusion that the children displayed no overt signs of harm may be inaccurate since more subtle indications may well have been overlooked or misinterpreted.

Implicit in Bender and Blau's (1937) study is that the children's attractiveness and charm are indices of their inherently seductive nature. A more sophisticated interpretation of children's "seductiveness" recognizes that their sexually inappropriate behavior is, in essence, a learned response. As explained by Yates (1982): "As time progresses, children do come to realize that there is something bad or different about these games but by then many other sources of gratification may be involved. . . . The process of eroticization can occur at any age . . ."

(p. 482). Yates (1982) outlined several sources of gratification from the incestuous union such as the power of being a special child and incest being the only form of contact or "nurturance" in an emotionally distant family. Sexual contact is thus associated with positive outcomes; the child becomes eroticized and learns to behave sexually as a means to obtain needed attention from adults. With this conceptualization, "seductiveness" in the child is more accurately viewed as a symptom of sexual abuse, not a predisposing factor.

Also reminiscent of Freud's powerful and controversial influence on the conceptualization of father-daughter incest, there exists a faction of clinicians who caution that a daughter's report of her father (or other adult) molesting her may be no more than her fantasized accounts of forbidden sexuality (e.g., Heims & Kaufman, 1963). As such, the child bears the responsibility in an indirect sense, and once her fantasies are addressed or resolved, no great harm is assumed.

Rosenfeld, Nadelson and Kroeger (1979) cite several case studies which attempted to demonstrate that "the line of demarcation between fantasy and reality may be hazy since the fantasy may be based upon real life family

experiences which have been displaced or distorted." (p. 159). Using case studies, the authors highlighted factors which compromised the credibility of a report. Difficulty distinguishing fantasy from reality was linked to the cognitive and emotional development of the child and it was suggested that reports of abuse from a child prior to age nine must be treated with appropriate skepticism. Other factors which were viewed by Rosenfeld et.al. (1979) as important in distinguishing fantasy from reality included an overstimulating family setting (e.g., frequent parental nudity) which serves to encourage sexual fantasy, a desire for revenge or hatred of the accused molester, displaced guilt over sexual feelings, an ongoing custody battle, an actual incident of molestation but the wrong person accused or psychotic disturbance in the child.

It must be noted that despite the apparent credibility of Rosenfeld et.al.'s (1979) arguments, in five of the six cases presented as substantiation, there existed a proven or very strong possibility of actual sexual abuse. This would seem to undermine the validity of emphasizing the child's predeliction for fantasy as an "a priori" factor in assessing the credibility of her accusation.

Concerning the issue of credibility of a child's complaint of sexual assault, it is noted that data suggest false accusations are rare and detected early in the legal process. For example, Cantwell (1981) found that 26 of 287 reported cases of child sexual abuse were dismissed as unfounded after the initial investigation by a social services agency and the police. Of these 26 cases, only two were complaints brought forward by children, while 24 were false reports initiated by adults. (False reports by adults primarily involved custody disputes or psychosis in the maternal caretaker.) Thus, only two of 287 sexual abuse cases were falsely reported by children. This convincing statistic is reflected in a "rule of thumb" advocated by many professionals which encourages one to "believe the child" (e.g., Bailey, 1979; Brassard, Tyler & Kehle, 1983).

Freudian concepts of childhood sexuality, particularly Oedipal impulses, have provided the tenuous yet powerful basis from which the incest victim's experience is dismissed as fantasy. That such "fantasy" very often includes precocious sexual knowledge and specific details of sexual activity (e.g., Sgroi, 1982) is a fact proponents of this viewpoint very often overlook. In light of the

vast number of father-daughter incest cases which have been revealed over the past two decades (e.g., Alter-Reid et.al., 1986; Mrazek, 1983; DeFrancis, 1969), however, this viewpoint has been modified. That the child may be fantasizing her sexual abuse has been reduced to a cautionary note toward endorsing a skeptical approach inconsistent with the facts of the sexual abuse of children.

Role of the Mother

By default, Freud (1933) cast the mother as catalyst for the seduction-phantasy:

> "And now we find, in the early pre-oedipal history of girls the seduction-phantasy again; but the seducer is invariably the mother. Here, however, the phantasy has a footing in reality; for it must in fact have been the mother who aroused (perhaps for the first time) pleasurable sensations in the child's genitals in the ordinary course of attending to its bodily needs." (p. 164).

Inclusion of the maternal figure in discussions of father-daughter incest was thus established. It is suggested that the trend of drawing the maternal figure

into the incestuous act and ultimately into the arena for more explicit blame-laying was modelled by Freud's work. Variations on this theme are evident in current literature and will be discussed in subsequent sections.

Role of the Father

Remarkable only by its absence, the role of the father in Freudian views of incest is not developed. The father is alluded to as a source of rivalry and/or admiration which further stimulates the child's Oedipal fantasies (e.g., Freud, 1933). It is logical, however, that since the incest is fantasy-based, the father is exonerated from any direct involvement or responsibility for his daughter's accounts of incestuous acts. As will be discussed in the following section, it is suggested that minimizing or excluding the father from responsibility is a position also established by Freudian work and that rudiments of this perspective are evident in current theories.

Family Systems Theory and Father-Daughter Incest

With the burgeoning of counselling theories in the 1950's there developed an approach to family counselling derived from principles of the interactive functioning of

biological systems (e.g., Bateson, 1972). Systems theory thus interprets an individual's behavior within the broader context of the family's functioning. For example, a defiant teenager's behavior might be hypothesized as an attempt to unite the marital unit, since the parents respond by aligning to confront their rebellious child.

Incest as an Indicator of Family Dysfunction

In terms of father-daughter incest, systems theory generally views the sexual abuse as a symptom of a dysfunctional family (e.g., Alexander, 1985). Proponents of this viewpoint cite predictable characteristics of (father-daughter) incestuous families. Included among these characteristics are a marked tendency for the family to be a closed unit, with few or no social contacts (e.g., Larson & Maddock, 1986), confusion of roles within the family, where, for example, children parent the parents (e.g., Rosenfeld, 1978) and inappropriate boundaries wherein family members do not respect or allow for individual privacy (e.g., Reposa & Zeuler, 1983). Lack of opportunity to develop individuality (e.g., Larson & Maddock, 1986) and marital discord with an unsatisfactory

sex life (e.g., Machotka, Pittman & Flomenhaft, 1967) are also characteristics often attributed to incestuous families.

Work by Alexander (1985) exemplified systems theory and the conceptualization of dysfunction among families manifesting father-daughter incest. Based on clinical case studies, this author proposed that a critical factor distinguishing functional, nonincestuous families from incestuous families is the degree to which the family system is open to interaction with the environment. A functional family thus is characterized by three factors: information exchange, negentropy and dynamic homeostasis.

Information exchange allows the family to acquire diverse stimulation and change in response to the outside social system. According to Alexander (1985), incestuous families avoid contact with the outside environment which contributes to stagnation and deterioration of its own internal structure.

Negentropy, the capacity of a system to respond to an intrusion by elaborating and differentiating its structure, is another important feature of an open system. In healthy families this is evident as clearly defined, specialized roles among family members (e.g., spouse vs. parent), and

differentiation between generations and among siblings. Differentiation is also manifested by effective communication to resolve conflicts. Among dysfunctional, incestuous families, Alexander (1985) noted rigidity and little variety in communication patterns with a concommitant avoidance of change within the family.

Dynamic homeostasis, the capacity of a healthy family to maintain stability without restricting individuals and by incorporating change, is lacking in incestuous families. Thus, in incestuous families a high priority is placed on maintaining a rigid homeostasis by limiting the independence of family members and resisting change.

According to Alexander (1985) then, father-daughter incest can be viewed as one indicator of a relatively closed family system lacking in information exchange, negentropy and dynamic homeostasis.

Because systems theory stresses the interactive nature of family members and the evolution of family problems, father-daughter incest is also understood as a consequence of dysfunctional roles taken by the mother, child and father. Conceptualization of these roles is critically examined below.

Role of the Child

Systemic perspectives on the child's role in father-daughter incest range from viewing her part in the incestuous triangle (father, daughter, mother) as a naive, malleable object of choice to an active, willing participant. Interpretations of the child's involvement thus vary according to the perceived degree of her compliance and gratification in the incestuous relationship.

Systemic perspectives which perceive the child as an active participant often point out the gratification the child receives in terms of extra attention, physical contact and the power position she assumes in the family from being "special" (e.g., Hoorwitz, 1981; Luther & Price, 1980). As Larson and Maddock (1986) have stated: "The incest victim herself may be considerably reluctant to expose the sexual secret and thereby be forced to give up her privileged status with her father." (p. 33).

More benevolent views of the child's role have cited her perceived obligation in holding the family together by her involvement in the incestuous relationship which functions to reduce marital tension (e.g., Browning & Boatman, 1977).

Regardless of the degree to which the child is considered to actively initiate and maintain sexual involvement with her father, it is suggested that systemic perspectives in general minimize or disregard the child's victimization and traumatization. That is, symptoms of sexual abuse, well recognized by child-advocate clinicians, are typically given casual mention and/or interpreted in terms of systemic theory. For example, Machotka et.al. (1967) in discussing a transcript between mother, father and daughter interpreted the daughter's disclosure of incest as follows:

> ". . . there is a suggestion that Mary's use of the incest story, though most of the time undermined by her loss of control is aggressive, taunting and complex; her mother's reaction to it, on the other hand, continues to give it power." (p. 108).

Similarly, Reposa and Zeulzer (1983) subordinated appreciation for the distress of children being sexually abused (cited in a case study) who were showing "a consistent runaway pattern" to systemic interpretations. These authors suggested the children running from home is an indicator of ineffective ways of separating and therefore symptomatic of a closed family system.

It must be noted that assuming a broad view with emphasis on systems factors rather than individual concerns is the hallmark of family systems theory. A drawback of this mandate is that in dealing with father-daughter incest, issues concerning the child's experience can be overlooked or downplayed. For example, Swan (1985) in discussing a systemic treatment approach for incest advised:

> "The goal of therapy would be furthered by not focusing on the child at all but on the marital conflict . . . Thus, the treatment of choice for the child is to let "sleeping dogs lie" and focus on marital therapy and parent education strategies." (p. 72).

Role of the Mother

A predictable theme in systems theory discussions of father-daughter incest is the mother's collusive role in the development and maintenance of the incestuous relationship. The mother is typically described as being passive, emotionally and/or financially dependent upon her husband, and unable to meet the demands of her marital and maternal roles (e.g., Zeulzer & Reposa, 1983). Depression

(e.g., Swanson & Biaggio, 1985), and absence from the home due to work (e.g., Weeks, 1976) are often cited as means by which the mother abandons her daughter and husband. From this perspective the mother ". . . in effect is the cornerstone of the pathological family system." (Machotka et.al., 1967; p. 100).

Failure to fulfill her husband's emotional and sexual needs, in conjunction with her daughter's need for care and affection, lead the father to seek out an incestuous relationship with his daughter in an attempt to fill the emotional void. Consistent with this perspective is that the mother takes an unconscious yet active part in both encouraging the incest and in choosing to overlook indicators of its occurrence, including complaints by her daughter (e.g., Hoorwitz, 1983). In essence, the mother and daughter reverse roles, an occurrence acceptable to the mother since it relieves her of responsibilities which she finds unattractive (e.g., Rist, 1979).

To summarize, in contrast with interpretations of the mother's role as peripheral and based on her and her child's victimization, systems theory views the mother's involvement in father-daughter incest as collusive, causal and self-motivated. That these conceptualizations rely on

a traditional view of her role and obligations within the family is implicit in the suggestion that her absence, however valid, is equivalent to abandonment of marital and maternal duties, and that she is the primary source of emotional nurturance among family members.

Role of the Father

Similar to the psychodynamic approach, the father's role in systems-theory is conveyed as peripheral, with the mother's collusive actions and the child's apparent compliance taking centre stage. The father's sexual involvement with his daughter is interpreted as an adaptive response to family dysfunction, marital discord and/or emotional and sexual abandonment by his wife (e.g., Alexander, 1985; Rist, 1979). Systems theory is consistent in its avoidance of placing sole blame or responsibility onto the father. As Reposa & Zeulzer (1983) have cautioned: ". . . insure that the perpetrator not be left to bear all responsibility for the emergence of the incestuous relationship." (p. 122). Rationale for this approach is based on systems theory's efforts to view the family as a whole, with an individual's behavior (e.g., the father's) being interactive and in response to other member's behaviors.

Systemic theory does not address well-documented features of the incestuous father which would indicate that sexual abuse of his child is largely self-motivated, sexually gratifying and often an extension of an authoritative stance within the home (e.g., Herman, 1981; Peters, 1976, Rist, 1979, Wells, 1981). Also overlooked are the emotionally coercive tactics frequently employed by the father to initiate the child into the sexual activity and to pledge her to secrecy (e.g., Burgess & Holmstrom, 1975; Summit, 1983). The use of such tactics indicates premeditation and awareness of the need for secrecy to avoid intervention.

Attention to systemic factors may thus overlook pathological features in the father and exonerate him from accepting the burden of responsibility. Often noted in the literature is the father's extreme resistance to accepting responsibility for his actions through the use of adamant denial, elaborate rationalization (e.g., initiation of the child into sex so as to "teach her properly and keep her off the streets") and projection of blame (e.g., the daughter seduced him) (e.g., Creller, Devlin, Flynn & Kaliski, 1985; Gruber, 1981). The neutrality encouraged by the systemic perspective may thus inadvertently match the

incestuous father's need to deny and avoid responsibility, a potential pitfall which does not appear to be recognized by systems theorists.

Incest as an Adaptive Function

Aside from interpreting incestuous activity within the framework of family pathology and dysfunctional roles, father-daughter incest has also been conceptualized in systems theory as serving an adaptive function.

Early work in this approach is exemplified by Lustig, Dresser, Spellman and Murray (1966):

> ". . . instability in family structure which generates continuous uncertainty of the family's ability to satisfy its members and stay together. This apprehension impels the channelling of family energies into patterns of interaction primarily designed to preserve the family at any cost despite dystonicity with cultural goals and standards." (p. 32).

Recent work by Larson and Maddock (1986) presents more sophisticated theoretical interpretations of father-daughter incest. These authors have suggested that, although incest is functional, the purpose it fulfills varies depending upon the family context within which it

occurs. A typology of incest function is theorized, serving one of four basic functions in interpersonal exchange processes within the family.

For each exchange process five variables are outlined. The intent of the father in the sexual activity is labelled as positive (e.g., misguided affection) or negative (e.g., displaced rage). The father's intentional attachment to and recognition of the child is considered and varies from emotional attachment and recognition of the child (object connection), to the child being a vehicle for sexual activity (no object connection) and through to the child being an object upon which to sexually vent and express rage stemming from other sources (object displacement). The degree of physical violence used, the centrality of the need to control and dominate as an underlying factor motivating the father (power motive) and the degree to which the father's psychopathology contribute to the occurrence of incest are also described.

Conceptualizing incest as serving an adaptive function to preserve the family's integrity is clearly a heuristic tool. While it may provide a framework from which to conduct therapy, it is evident that similar to the

psychodynamic and anthropological views of incest, its theoretical basis does not focus on the child's experience as an incest victim.

To summarize, several features characterize the systemic approach to father-daughter incest. The stance of the theorist is essentially neutral with efforts taken to avoid placing excessive blame on the father. Similarly, harm to the child while at times acknowledged, is not a focal point of this approach. The mother tends to be viewed from a traditional perspective which holds her responsible for the emotional nurturance of the family and protection of her children. The occurrence of incest is taken as but one indicator of overriding family dysfunction and/or as an adaptive mechanism by which the family maintains its unity.

This approach differs markedly from the feminist perspective, as is evident in the following section.

Feminist Perspectives and Father-Daughter Incest

Within the context of the women's movement in the late 1960's and early 1970's, there emerged efforts to acknowledge and document the child's experience of sexual

abuse. The child victim's plight was thus revealed by the feminist movement and consequently promoted to public awareness.

Feminist perspectives on father-daughter incest consist of at least three major facets: conceptualization of father-daughter incest and roles of the father, mother and child within a social context, endorsement of a strong child-advocate position, and recognition of the long term effects of incest and other forms of child sexual abuse on adult survivors.

Father-Daughter Incest and Social Context

Feminist approaches to father-daughter incest are unique in conceptualizing its occurrence within the larger social context. The importance of considering social factors is implicated by several facts concerning child sexual abuse and father-daughter incest:

1. Child sexual abusers, including incest offenders, are overwhelmingly male. For example, Herman (1981) summarized five major retrospective studies in which the adult perpetrator was male in 98% of the cases. This would suggest that relative to women, there are elements present in the socialization of males which increase their propensity to sexually abuse children.

2. Females comprise a convincing majority of victims of incest and other forms of child sexual abuse. As was documented with demographic data cited earlier, girls comprise approximately 80 - 90% of the victim population. Feminist theory suggests that the power dynamic operative in adult male-female relationships is both present and exaggerated in the exploitation of female children (e.g., Rush, 1980).

3. The majority of incest cases go undetected as indicated by striking disparities between incidence data on discovered cases and retrospective studies. This implies a "conspiracy of silence" (Butler, 1978), attributed by feminists to the power structure in society (i.e., male dominated) which limits and impedes disclosure of female victimization, in this case the sexual abuse of girls by their paternal caretakers.

Central to feminist views of father-daughter incest is the concept of patriarchy. To the degree that the family is the primary vehicle of socialization, the occurrence of a male-dominated social structure is reflected in a patriarchal family structure. Inherent to this structure is the unequal power between men and women, as ascribed by their traditional roles.

"Women are socialized to assume primary (and often exclusive) responsibility for parenting, for serving the emotional and physical needs of their husbands and children, for domestic labor . . . . Men, on the other hand, are socialized to expect they will be nurtured and cared for . . . permit men to achieve distance and autonomy from their families . . ." (Myers Avis, 1985; p. 130).

Feminist theory suggests that one outcome of traditional roles adopted by men and women is the extent of the perceived and actual power each holds, with men essentially holding more power than women both within and beyond family life. This power imbalance is critical to the occurrence of father-daughter incest for two reasons. First, it grants the father means by which to coax or coerce a relatively powerless child into sexual relations. Second, with his spouse having less power, the father is granted greater immunity from her efforts to detect, challenge or intervene in the sexual abuse of the daughter.

As Herman (1981) summarized:

"The sexual abuse of children is as old as patriarchy itself. Fathers have had sexual relations with their children from time immemorial and they are likely to

do so for a long time to come. As long as fathers dominate their families, they will have the power to make sexual use of their children. Most fathers will choose not to exercise this power; but as long as the power is implicitly granted to all men, some men will use it." (p. 202).

Role of the Father

Evident in the preceding discussion is the feminist assertion that in cases of father-daughter incest, the father is wholly responsible for the sexual abuse of his daughter. Within this framework, the father (or other paternal caretaker) is described as being either overtly dominating or subtly manipulative of his daughter and family. Sexual abuse of the daughter occurs as an extension of the father's belief that his family is, in essence, a possession. As such, he is free to impose upon his daughter sexual demands whether he does so coercively or in the context of "affection" borne of his emotional neediness (e.g., Herman, 1981; Rush, 1980).

Placing the father in the position of culpability implies he is accountable for his incestuous behavior. Placement of responsibility directly onto the father

disallows blaming either the child victim or the mother for the incest, a position which appears to be unique to feminist perspectives.

Role of the Mother

Feminist interpretations of the mother's role in father-daughter incest are critical of systems theory views and Freudian views on several fronts. That the mother is so often identified as being dependent, passive and depressed has been presented as evidence of her own victimization by a dominating, often physically abusive spouse (e.g., Herman, 1981). Her incapacity to protect her children may thus be paralleled by her incapacity to protect herself.

As noted previously, systems theory conceives the mother's absence from the family as an unconscious means by which she encourages her daughter to assume the maternal role in the family (e.g., Rist, 1979). As Herman (1981) pointed out, this view sidesteps some very concrete and plausible reasons for the mother's absence. Included among these are working to financially assist the family, physical illness and the trust she places in her partner to care for the child(ren) in her absence.

From a feminist perspective, it can be argued then, that the inability of the mother to recognize symptoms of sexual abuse in her child may be more a reflection of the commitment and trust she places in her husband than a consequence of her unconscious denial.

Furthermore, it is hypothesized that, aside from placing trust in her spouse, there is a significant barrier placed between the mother and daughter by the father's methods of seducing and silencing the child. Pressuring the child into sexual activity may involve bribes, misrepresentation of moral standards (e.g., "It's okay to do"; "It's my job to teach you about sex") and/or making deals (e.g., "If you do, I will leave your younger sisters alone). Similarly, ensuring the child's silence typically involves pledging her to secrecy. Such pledges are based on the inducement of fear in the child through threat of punishment (e.g., physical beatings of the child or her siblings), predicting dire consequences (e.g., divorce; child and father going to jail) and/or threats of being blamed or abandoned (e.g., "People won't like you; you'll be taken away") (e.g., Burgess & Holmstrom, 1975). That these methods are enormously effective is supported by the significant number of victims who do not disclose their

abuse until adulthood and the projected number of victims who never disclose (e.g., Butler, 1978).

In terms of mother-daughter communication, it is thus suggested that the father's tactics create an often insurmountable obstruction between them and that the child is limited to indirect, oblique ways to convey her terrifying secret. The indicators of her abuse may thus very well be subtle and evident only in hindsight.

Recent work by Myer (1985) substantiated many of these critiques and supports feminist conceptualizations of the mother's role. Based on personality measures, clinical evaluations and self-report indices (e.g., perceptions of the victimized child and historical childhood data), forty-three mothers of incest victims were studied. Three groups of mothers were identified: protecting mothers, immobilized mothers and rejecting mothers.

Protecting mothers comprised 56% of the sample and were diagnosed as having Dependent Personality Disorder, described as being very passive, lacking in self-confidence and subordinating their own needs. Despite their apparent passivity, after a brief period of disbelief, these mothers responded to the child's complaints by initiating action through social or legal authorities, empathizing with the

child and expressing anger at the sexual abuse and their husband.

Immobilized mothers, making up nine per cent of the sample, were classified as having Borderline Personality Disorder, characterized by difficulty establishing close relationships, identity disturbance and impulsivity. When confronted with the abuse, their response was blatant denial, although they did not express any hostility towards the child. All had a history of poor relationships with their own mothers and/or neglecting their children.

Rejecting mothers consisted of 35% of the sample and were classified as Narcissistic Personality Disturbance, features of which include lack of empathy, explosiveness and over-idealization or devaluation. Extreme dependence, fear of their husband and submissiveness in their marital relationship was consistently noted. Although originally ambivalent in response to the sexual abuse, these mothers chose to stay with their partner and expressed hostility towards the child. As Myer (1985) summarized: "These mothers were so intimidated by their mates and had such passive personalities that they were unable to protect their children or even admit that their children had been sexually abused." (p. 55).

It is suggested that the concept of traumatic bonding, borrowed from the literature on domestic violence, is applicable to Myer's (1985) description of rejecting mothers. Dutton and Painter (1981) described the phenomenon of traumatic bonding between battered women and their physically abusive partners. These authors used the term traumatic bonding to denote ". . . the development and course of strong emotional ties between two persons where one person intermittently harasses, beats, threatens, abuses or intimidates the other." (p. 147). Central to the development of traumatic bonding are a marked power imbalance and the intermittent nature of the abuse. According to Dutton and Painter (1981), the power imbalance induces in the subordinate individual a pervasive and overgeneralized impotence to effect change. The cyclical nature of the relationship, where bouts of abuse are followed by "honeymoon" periods of low tension, is viewed as analagous to learning theory's concept of intermittent reinforcement, a highly effective means to establish persistent, even maladaptive, behavior patterns that are resistant to extinction.

To summarize, the feminist perspective interprets the mother's role in father-daughter incest much differently

than do the psychodynamic or systemic viewpoints. Her "involvement" is minimized and any awareness of incestuous activity between the father and daughter is viewed as occurring in hindsight and/or impeded by her own passivity and victimization by a dominating spouse.

The Child Advocate Position

From a feminist viewpoint, the child is unequivocally viewed as a victim in any sexual encounter with an adult. According to this perspective, the child's inability to provide informed consent, her emotional dependence upon her molester (i.e., father), her trust of people she knows and her subordinate power position all ensure that her role in the incest is that of a victim (e.g., Rush, 1980). As Defrancis (1969) stated:

> "A subtle threat underlies the compliance of the child in these circumstances. The child not only wishes to prevent causing displeasure to this person in whom she has faith and for whom she has affection, but also, his position of authority in their relationship carries an implied threat or possible punishment for incurring displeasure by a refusal." (p. 18).

From this perspective, the child is never responsible for her sexual abuse and emotional, psychological and physical harm are assumed to be probable consequences.

Role of the Child

One of the earliest efforts to systematically document the child's experience of sexual abuse was completed by Burgess and Holmstrom (1975). These authors proposed that children involved in sexual relations with adults are accurately described as "accessory to sex victims". They presented case material on 42 accessory to sex victims (36 girls, 6 boys, of whom nearly twenty-five percent were victimized by their paternal caretakers) and the evolution of the sexual misuse of the child is outlined.

Burgess and Holmstrom's (1975) work has subsequently been replicated and extended. A comprehensive framework for the child's victimization was described by Summit (1983). This author viewed the child's response to sexual exploitation as predictable and well-defined and termed it the "child sexual abuse accommodation syndrome". Five phases are delineated in the syndrome which is described below.

1. Secrecy

The basic reality of the child's initiation into a sexual "relationship" with a trusted adult, such as her father, is that the sexual abuse occurs when she is alone with the offender. As Summit (1983) stated:

> "However gentle or menacing the intimidation may be, the secrecy makes it clear to the child that this is something bad or dangerous. The secrecy is both the source of fear and the promise of safety: 'Everything will be all right if you just don't tell'." (p. 181).

The secrecy creates a pervasive sense of badness and unease in the child, who typically experiences this as fear. That the average child never does tell is supported by the high incidence of child sexual abuse indicated in retrospective data as opposed to measures obtained from reported, confirmed cases (e.g., Herman, 1981). Summit (1983) has made the valid point that from the adult's perspective, the child's naivete and maintained secrecy is incredible and is a launching point for a series of misperceptions on the part of adults.

2. Helplessness

Because of the subordinate role inherent in being a child, she is in no position to refuse or otherwise resist

her father's sexual demands. As well, the social and sexual innocence of the child precludes the option of informed consent.

The total powerlessness of the child is an uncomfortable and often unrealized circumstance to non-offending adults. As a result, adults in a position to intervene react critically to the child's inability to extricate herself from the "relationship". This further stigmatizes her and increases her sense of helplessness.

3. Entrapment and Accommodation

As is the case for most children trapped in a sexually abusive relationship, they are not rescued. As such, the child is left with no choice but to accommodate to being sexually misused. This accommodation requires some psychological maneuvering in order for the child to reconcile her increasing awareness of betrayal, sexual exploitation and objectification by a "loving" adult. In her effort to gain a sense of control, the child incorporates the belief she deserves the sexual abuse, therefore is bad. By this process the parent can remain in the idealized image of being good and loving.

The pressure of her circumstances may result in the deployment of other psychological defense mechanisms such

as altered states of consciousness, imaginary playmates, etc. Summit (1983) noted that while these are effective in relieving stress in the short-term, they are maladaptive to adult functioning. If the child does not have the capacity for such psychological outlets she may reconcile her rage with a host of negative expressions: self-abuse, promiscuity, or exploitation (e.g., blackmail) of the offender.

Other well documented symptoms of sexual abuse include loss of appetite, negative feelings towards men, sleep disturbance (e.g., Peters, 1976), truancy, phobic symptoms, depression (e.g., Price & Valdiserri, 1981), excessive masturbation, aggressive behavior (e.g., Cline, 1980) and hysterical seizures (e.g., Gross, 1979).

4. Delayed, Conflicted and Unconvincing Disclosure

The child's accommodation to the abuse may allow her to endure it until she escapes into adulthood. Those cases which do come to light, however, often occur when the child reaches adolescence. At this time, the appeal of establishing her own life, particularly social contacts, lends her the courage to rebel against the molestation. Summit (1983) noted that the adolescent's decision to disclose very often follows a "showdown" wherein the

offender attempts to exert his authority in terms of unrealistic demands. Ironically, because the child is also often in the process of displacing her anger by rebellious behavior, her disclosure of the sexual abuse comes at a time when she is least likely to be believed. Thus, other adults dismiss her accusations as further testimony to her incorrigible and rebellious nature - she may be totally disbelieved or her abusive experiences minimized by the implication she deserved and/or wanted the sexual contact.

5. Retraction

The upheaval following disclosure very often places the child in a position wherein she perceives her actions may further destroy or save her family. This perception, which is at least partially accurate, occurs at a time when the child's worst fears about disclosure have been realized: her mother and siblings react angrily, her father adamantly denies her allegations, and she is removed from the home. In light of these devastating consequences the child makes a rational, if tragic, decision - she retracts her statement, apologizes and remains isolated with the secret of her sexual abuse.

The Long Term Effects of Child Sexual Abuse - Adult Survivors

The impact of incest on adults victimized as children is now well recognized as a cluster of identifiable symptoms (e.g., Courtois, 1988; Ellenson, 1985). These symptoms can be viewed as an extension of behaviors which served an adaptive function for the abused child and/or as unresolved traumatic symptoms which are largely detrimental to effective adult functioning.

The long term effects of childhood sexual abuse on adult survivors as an analogue to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) has received recent attention (e.g., Courtois, 1988). Criteria for PTSD have been defined in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association (1980). Symptoms of PTSD include re-experiencing of the trauma (e.g., dreams), emotional "numbing" and other variable features including sleep disturbance, memory impairment, guilt, hyperalertness and/or avoidance of activities evolving memories of the event (e.g., establishing a sexual relationship). Chronic and acute subtypes are described, depending on the onset and duration of symptoms. Obviously, for adult incest survivors, manifestation of chronic PTSD is most relevant.

Factors related to the long term effects of incest were empirically investigated by Herman, Russell and Trocki (1986) who compared 152 female incest survivors in the community (i.e., nonclinical sample) with 53 female incest survivors in outpatient treatments.

Within the nonclinical sample, comparisons were made between survivors who reported that the incest had negatively affected them with survivors who reported minimal or no effect. Chi-square tests between the two groups (report negative effect vs. no effect) were conducted across variables of the abuse (father as perpetrator, severe body violation, violent or forceful sexual activity, duration of incest and perpetrator ten or more years older than the victim). Significant differences occurred between the two groups with the variables of the abuse figuring prominently among survivors who reported they had been adversely affected.

When the clinical sample (i.e., in outpatient treatment) was compared to the nonclinical sample, variables of the abuse such as earlier age of onset of abuse, violence, father-perpetrated, and greater duration of abuse were notably higher in the clinical group. These findings led Herman et.al. (1986) to conclude that "these

results are suggestive that violent, prolonged, or intrusive abuse or abuse by a primary caretaker represents stressors that are beyond the capacities of all but the most exceptional children and that will regularly produce a long-lasting traumatic syndrome." (p. 1296).

Aside from generating clinical concern, the long term effects of incest and other forms of childhood sexual abuse are of practical relevance to our society. Given the high incidence of childhood sexual abuse cited previously, it can be logically predicted that a considerable segment of the adult female population will be manifesting the effects of sexual abuse suffered in childhood. Substantiation of the toll this places upon our society is evident in the findings of numerous studies.

Silbert (1981) noted the very high prevalence of incest victims among prostitutes. A legacy of family problems is implicated by studies noting the increased risk of child sexual abuse among families in which the mother was an incest victim (Cooper & Cormier, 1982). Suicide attempts (Brinere & Runtz, 1986), increased risk of alcohol and drug dependency (Courtois, 1988) and increased vulnerability to sexual assault (e.g. Russell, 1986) have also been associated with adult female incest victims who

have not had the opportunity for assistance to resolve their longstanding trauma.

The long term consequences of incest on female victims and the prevalence of such survivors are also significant to feminists because these facts imply a significant proportion of females (i.e., those sexually abused) are placed at even greater risk for oppression in a male-dominated society. This in turn implies the likelihood of perpetuation of subordinate roles and/or continued victimization of women as long as father-daughter incest and other forms of child sexual abuse continue to occur.

Research Pertaining to Incest Attitudes

Research into public and/or professionals' opinions and attitudes regarding father-daughter incest (or any form of child sexual abuse) has been limited. A primary focus of this research has been on surveying professionals to determine their opinions of child sexual abuse and their practices regarding management of known cases. James, Womack & Stauss (1978) surveyed 300 physicians, of whom 96 returned the questionnaire. Fifty-eight percent of

physicians reported they would not report a known case of child sexual abuse based on the grounds it could be handled more effectively privately, and/or would be harmful to the family, and/or were dissatisfied with past interventions by social service agencies. Fifty-three percent of physicians had seen at least one known case of child sexual abuse in the past year, intercourse or molestation by a father or stepfather of a daughter being the most frequent form. Despite these physicians' general opinion that the child victims had suffered trauma, only 32% of respondents indicated that they urged the family to report the incident.

While the above findings are somewhat dated given the vast increase in public awareness regarding child sexual abuse in the past 10 years, as well as legal changes requiring that child sexual abuse be reported, more recent investigations have also documented data concerning physician under-reporting of child sexual abuse, lack of awareness of harm and/or the need for outside intervention (e.g., O'Rourke & Sweeney, 1983; Winefield & Castell-McGregor, 1986).

Eisenberg, Owens and Dewey (1987) used case history material and general questions about incest to determine

health professionals' attitudes toward child sexual abuse and incest. Eighty-two male and 217 female respondents were sampled across three professional groups: health visitors, nurses and medical students. Results indicated that taking the child into care was advocated more frequently as years of experience of the respondent increased. Across professional groups, occurrence of sexual intercourse was viewed as significantly more serious than other types of sexual contact (e.g. fondling). Sex differences were apparent in that female respondents believed the effects of incest were more harmful than did male respondents. The most striking finding of survey data was the low estimation of frequency of incest across groups; the authors noted that this may indicate insensitivity towards detection of cases of sexual abuse.

Research has also been completed which directly pertains to incest attitudes, rather than case management issues. Jackson and Sandberg (1985) explored attribution of blame in incest with 216 rural judges and attorneys (161 male, 55 female). Based on mean factor scores (correcting for the number of items contributing to each factor), attribution of blame followed the same pattern for the undergraduate sample used in their previous study (Jackson

& Ferguson, 1983): offender blamed most followed by situational, societal and victim blame, respectively. Correlations with respondent characteristics revealed that female attorneys blamed victims significantly less than did male attorneys. Amount of professional experience varied directly with victim blame and offender blame, and inversely with situational blame. The latter finding suggests that as professionals gain more experience, they are more prone to attribute blame directly to the participants rather than blaming theoretical, impersonal factors such as circumstances or social influences. As well, assigning blame to the offender was associated with selecting stricter sentences, whereas victim blame was associated with lighter offender sentences.

In reviewing this research, it is of interest to note that professionals' attribution of blame in incest (Jackson & Sandberg, 1985) paralleled those of the undergraduate sample (Jackson & Ferguson, 1983). Implicit in this communality is that there exist pervasive attitudes and perceptions towards incest which are consistent across the general population. As well, that males blamed the (female) victim more than did females supports the hypothesis that underlying social values (e.g. attitudes towards women) influence attitudes towards incest.

Doughty and Schneider (1987) utilized the Jackson Incest Blame Scale (JIBS) (Jackson & Ferguson, 1983) to investigate attribution of blame as it varies over sex and education (undergraduates vs. graduate students vs. clinicians). Findings revealed that independent of education, attribution of blame differed between men and women on two of the four factors. That is, men blamed situational factors (e.g. socioeconomic factors; substance abuse) and societal factors (e.g. sex and violence in the media) more than women blamed these factors in contributing to incest. Blaming the offender or the victim also varied inversely with education. That is, regardless of sex, clinicians (most highly educated) attributed less blame for incest to either victim or offender than did graduate students, who blamed less than did undergraduate students (least educated). An exception to this was the interactional effect wherein male undergraduates blamed the victim more than did female undergraduates. As in previous studies (Jackson & Ferguson, 1983; Jackson & Sandberg, 1985), offender was blamed most, followed by situational, societal and victim blame, respectively.

Some consistent themes are evident in reviewing the recent literature on attitudes towards incest. Among

professionals, there appears to be reluctance to report incest and/or lack of awareness of its high incidence (e.g., Eisenberg, Owens & Dewey, 1987; Winefield & Castell-McGregor, 1986). In terms of attribution of blame, the attitudes of respondents are distributed such that the offender is blamed most, followed by situational, societal and victim blame, respectively (e.g. Doughty & Schneider, 1987; Jackson & Ferguson, 1983; Jackson & Sandberg, 1985). This pattern implies that there are beliefs and opinions congruent across both the general public and professional groups regarding attribution of blame in incest. Sex differences are also consistently documented. Males attributed blame for incest differently than did female respondents, most notably by blaming the victim more than did females. A complementary finding in this regard is that female professionals viewed the effects of incest as being more harmful than did male professionals (Eisenberg, Owens & Dewey, 1987).

Implications for the Present Study

Evident in the review of the literature is the polarity between the clinical views regarding father-daughter incest. At one extreme are psychoanalytic

theories wherein the child is seen as fantasizing and/or seductive, the mother as collusive and the father as essentially an innocent bystander. These themes are, to some extent, parrotted in the systemic viewpoint in that the child is held partly responsible for the incest, the mother seen as a collaborator and the father as less than fully responsible; these roles are perceived as a response to powerful dynamics within the family which serve an adaptive function or are symptomatic of family dysfunction.

At the other extreme, feminist perspectives take a strong child advocate stance which precludes the child from any responsibility for her sexual abuse. This perspective conceptualizes the mother as unaware of the incest or as too impotent to intervene and places the onus of responsibility for the incest upon the father.

Underlying the polarity between the psychodynamic/systemic viewpoints and feminist perspective on father-daughter incest is a fundamental issue of sexism. Traditionally, with Freud at its helm, psychoanalytic schools of thought regarding father-daughter incest were largely male-dominated; feminist thought regarding father-daughter incest largely female-dominated. To what degree are the underlying sexist themes in the

issue of father-daughter incest echoed by the sexes in the general population?

Confounding this potential disparity of viewpoints between males and females is an overlying issue regarding social values. That is, father-daughter incest and other forms of child sexual abuse occur with alarming frequency in North American society, a culture which supposedly regards these offences as taboo. That child sexual abuse occurs to such a great extent implies there are social values which perpetuate its occurrence. What relationship exists between conservative social values, traditional attitudes towards women and attitudes towards father-daughter incest?

It is noted that in terms of research into opinions and attitudes regarding incest and other forms of child sexual abuse, there appear to have been no studies regarding attitudes and opinions of the general public. Among the controversies evident in the area of incest attitudes are the degree of willingness to report known cases, attribution of blame and gender differences. Of particular interest regarding the latter is the possibility of sexist attitudes wherein males attribute more blame to the victim than do females and view incest as less serious than do females.

The present study investigated incest attitudes in order to provide information on incidence of child sexual abuse, public opinions and attitudes regarding father-daughter incest as well as to investigate the relationship between gender, social values and attitudes towards father-daughter incest.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Procedures

In order to investigate the relationship between gender, social values and attitudes towards father-daughter incest, a 106 item questionnaire was constructed. It was hypothesized that conservative social values and traditional attitudes towards women would be directly related to greater attribution of blame in general and endorsement of less informed attitudes towards incest, and that males and females would differ in their incest attitudes (e.g., males would blame the victim more than would females). In order to investigate these hypotheses, the questionnaire was designed to determine basic demographic data, two measures of social values (attitudes towards women and the extent to which conservative values are endorsed) and two measures of incest attitudes (attitudes towards the dynamics and effects of incest; attribution of blame in incest). As well, incidence data regarding childhood sexual abuse of respondents and their opinions regarding case management decisions concerning a

fictitious case of father-daughter incest was collected to provide a profile of the general public.

Within the questionnaire, the term "incest" was defined for respondents (see Definition of Terms, Chapter 1) in an attempt to ensure that the same operational definition was used to respond to items.

Prior to mailing the questionnaire, potential respondents were contacted by telephone from a computer-generated, random list of 2500 phone numbers. The initial telephone call was standardized (see Appendix A) and explained the nature of the questionnaire, asking for volunteers.

Because the telephone numbers were randomly generated, it could not be determined beforehand which numbers were residences and which were businesses. Those numbers which were businesses were excluded from requesting participation in the study. When a residence was contacted, participation was requested from whomever answered the phone, providing she/he was 18 years of age or over. When a child answered the phone, a request was made to speak with a parent.

Three attempts were made to contact numbers where nobody answered. These calls, along with out of service

numbers, comprised the "no contact" category. In an attempt to minimize sample biases, research assistants telephoned throughout the work day and early evening. Questionnaires were mailed by the following day to those agreeing to participate and a prepaid return envelope was included along with a cover letter (Appendix B).

Instruments

The questionnaire consisted of 106 items covering seven areas. Wherever applicable, a five point scale of agreement was used (strongly agree, mildly agree, uncertain, mildly disagree, strongly disagree).

1. Demographic Information. In order to more accurately describe the sample, basic information such as sex, age, marital status, number of children, education and occupation was included. These variables were items one to six in the questionnaire and are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Demographic Information

1. What is your age in years?
_____

Table 2. Demographic Information (cont'd.)

2. Sex

1 Female
2 Male

3. Marital Status

1 Single
2 Married/Common-law
3 Separated/Divorced
4 Widowed

4. Do you have children?

1 Yes
2 No

5. What is your current occupation?

_____

_____

6. What is your highest level of education?

1 Some high school or less
2 High school graduate
3 Technical/Vocational training
4 Bachelor's degree
5 Graduate or professional degree

2. Value-Orthodoxy Scale (VOS). This 20 item scale was taken from the Jackson Personality Inventory and modified from a "True-False" response choice to the five point scale described above. The scale measures conformity to traditional customs and beliefs and was included in the

questionnaire to provide an index of the degree to which respondents endorsed conservative vs. liberal social values. High scorers are described as conventional, moralistic, and rigid whereas low scorers are described as modern, liberal, unorthodox and permissive. Concurrent validity measures based on correlations between self-ratings, roommate ratings and the Value-Orthodoxy Scale range from .30 to .75.

Within the questionnaire, this scale was covered in items 7-9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18-20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33, 35, 38 and 40. The VOS is presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The Value Orthodoxy Scale (Jackson, 1976)

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1. A person should be allowed to take his/her own life if the circumstances justify it.
2. Some of the current fashions for women are too indecent to be worn in public.
3. I often reject the beliefs that older people expect me to have.
4. My values might seem a little old-fashioned by modern standards.
5. People should be allowed to take certain drugs if they enjoy doing so and harm no one else.
6. Cheating and lying are always wrong, no matter what the situation.

Table 3. The Value Orthodoxy Scale (Jackson, 1976) (cont'd.)

7.	The discoveries of science may someday show that many of our most cherished beliefs are wrong.
8.	Our censorship laws have proven to be for our own good.
9.	People who will never get well should have the choice of being put to death painlessly.
10.	If I had to choose, I would prefer to live my life according to traditional values rather than the principles of science.
11.	Married people who no longer love each other should be given a divorce.
12.	Young people would have fewer problems if they listened to their parents more.
13.	People should be able to refuse to fight for their country without the fear of punishment.
14.	People today don't have enough respect for authority.
15.	The legal age of drinking should be lowered.
16.	No one has the right to take his/her own life.
17.	I think that religious institutions should pay taxes on their property just like everyone else.
18.	It is wrong to spend money on things you can't afford.
19.	People respect tradition more than necessary.
20.	Many people are too hasty in trying to change our laws.

3. Spence-Helmreich Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS). This scale consists of statements describing a variety of rules and rights which women in a nonsexist society would have and asks respondents to indicate their agreement with each item. High scores typify an egalitarian, profeminist position while low scores describe a conventional, traditional position. Because the short form of this scale (15 items) has been cited as having a .91 correlation with the original scale (55 items), it was selected in the interest of brevity. Spearman-Brown split half reliabilities based on 511 college students were established at .83 and .87 on a pretest and posttest, respectively. Test-retest after three weeks was .86.

This scale was included in questionnaire items 10, 12, 14, 17, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39 and 41. The AWS is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. The Attitudes towards Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1978)

1.	I feel that in order for women to be truly fulfilled, it is necessary for them to have children.
2.	Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.

Table 4. The Attitudes towards Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) (cont'd.)

3.	Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as dishes and doing the laundry.
4.	A woman who has young children should not work outside the home if at all possible.
5.	It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.
6.	A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.
7.	Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.
8.	Women who want a full-time career should not plan to raise children.
9.	Women should assume their rightful place in business and professions along with men.
10.	A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or have quite the same freedom of action as a man.
11.	Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.
12.	A husband has the right to expect his wife to bear children.
13.	A mother's main task is to provide for the emotional well-being of her husband and children.
14.	It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.
15.	The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

4. Attitudes Towards Incest Scale (ATI). In an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ciccone (1982) developed an instrument to measure attitudes towards incest on five dimensions: definition of incest, basis of beliefs about incest, incest perceived as fantasy or reality, dynamics of incest, and effects on the child. One hundred and fifty items were generated based on a review of the literature and subjected to the opinions of six expert judges. The judges indicated their agreement with the item on a four-point scale; this provided a measure of both face and content validity. Eighty-two items were selected and administered to 266 university students (94 male, 172 female) in the "helping professions" (e.g. medicine, social work, graduate psychology). Item analysis resulted in retention of 39 highly reliable items (.80 - .88) across five scales. Factor analysis, interscale correlations and correlations between scale scores and demographic features could not establish construct validity. It must be noted, however, that efforts to establish concurrent validity were based on brief, and perhaps inadequate, measures. That is, subjects were asked to rate their sexual attitudes (conservative, liberal) and religiosity. On the basis of these measures, which did not relate significantly to the

scales, Ciccone (1982) concluded that "they preclude the possibility of any practical construct validity.".

For the purposes of this study, the Attitudes Towards Incest instrument was primarily included to re-evaluate its validity and potential usefulness. In order to render the questionnaire more amenable to a public survey and also to make the scale more specific to father-daughter incest, wording on some items was altered; these changes are noted in Table 5, which is presented below.

The Attitudes towards Incest scale covered items 42-80 in the questionnaire (see Appendix C).

Table 5. The Attitudes towards Incest Scale [a] (Ciccone, 1982)

1.	An incestuous relationship can easily disrupt the child's development of behavior appropriate for her age.
	(age appropriate behavior)
2.	Children often feel guilty because they got some pleasure from the relationship.
	(feel intense guilt) (derived)
3.	Girls who have been in incestuous situations often have a poor image of themselves.
	(Girls and women) (poor self-image)
4.	The father in an incest situation often comes from a very rigid, strict upbringing.

Table 5. The Attitudes towards Incest Scale [a] (Ciccone, 1982) (cont'd.)

5. If I knew of an incestuous situation, I would have difficulty dealing with it.

(I would have difficulty dealing with an incest situation professionally.)

6. Incestuous fathers are usually below normal in intelligence.

7. In an incestuous situation the mother gives up the maternal role in the family to her daughter.

(relinquishes)

8. In cases of father-daughter incest, the father should be removed from the home.

9. Children are more vulnerable to an incestuous situation when they lack closeness and nonsexual affection from their parents.

(who are most) (are lacking)

10. A father who forces his children into a sexual relationship should be severely punished.

(coerces)

11. A father usually has a sexual relationship with one child only.

12. An incestuous father often feels it is his right as a parent to have sexual contact with his daughter.

(access)

13. Sexually suggestive and seductive behavior between a father and an adolescent daughter could be an incestuous situation.

(Suggestive) (adolescent) (constitute)

14. Thinking about an incestuous act is very disturbing to me.

Table 5. The Attitudes towards Incest Scale [a] (Ciccone, 1982) (cont'd.)

15. Incest affects thousands of children in Canada each year.

(over 80,000 children in the U.S. each year)

16. Incestuous fathers are often alcohol abusers.

17. A history of an incestuous relationship with her father given by an adult woman frequently is based on childhood fantasy and feelings of attraction towards her father.

(her unresolved oedipal feeling)

18. An incest claim by a child against a stepparent is frequently based on an attempt to get the stepparent out of the home.

19. Incest is against the law.

20. The female child in an incest situation typically is seductive and sexually advanced for her age.

(precocious)

21. When a father turns to his daughter for sex, it is often because his wife is not sexually available.

(inaccessible to him)

22. Too often a report of incest is dismissed by a professional as being a fantasy.

23. It should not be considered incest if a grandparent and grandchild have a sexual relationship.

24. One of the worst things about incest is that the parents are not serving a protective, nurturant role.

(The worst aspect of)

25. Incest is a form of child abuse.

Table 5. The Attitudes towards Incest Scale [a] (Ciccone, 1982) (cont'd.)

26. A daughter will often cooperate with her father's sexual demands to protect her sisters and brothers.

(siblings)

27. An incestuous situation could involve a father showing his genitals to the child.

(parent exposing his/her)

28. In an incestuous family, the father rarely has many friends or social contacts outside the home.

(external relationships)

29. In dealing with an incestuous family, it would be best to place the child in a foster home.

30. I would not consider teenage siblings who were fondling each other as incest.

(adolescent)

31. Incestuous behaviors include only acts of genital, anal and oral intercourse.

32. Incestuous claims from an adolescent daughter are often based upon her guilt over her seductive behavior towards her father.

33. It is best to wait until an incest claim is proven before accepting it as being true.

(substantiated)

34. Children are vulnerable to the sexual demands of their father.

(parents)

35. A child who has experienced incest will often show delinquent behaviors in adolescence.

Table 5. The Attitudes towards Incest Scale [a] (Ciccone, 1982) (cont'd.)

36.	Incest claims from very young children are often confused fantasies based on attraction to their father. (confused oedipal fantasies)
37.	Incest is more likely to occur in families of low incomes. (lower socioeconomic status)
38.	A sexual relationship between a step-parent and step-child is not incestuous.
39.	Misbehavior and/or the development of physical ailments are often the only way that a child in an incestuous situation can get attention and help from others outside the home. (Symptom formation or acting out behaviors are often the only way an incest victim can seek help.)

[a] Underlined words represent changes for the present study; original wording is in parentheses at the end of the item.

5. Jackson Incest Blame Scale (JIBS). This 20 item scale was adapted from a scale measuring attribution of blame in rape. Four hundred and twelve (412) undergraduate students were sampled (Jackson & Ferguson, 1983). Factor analysis identified four factors: situational blame, victim blame, societal blame and offender blame. The scale

has a Cronbach alpha of .71, acceptable for a multidimensional test.

The JIBS was included in the questionnaire to attempt to replicate previous findings (e.g., Jackson & Ferguson, 1983) using a sample from the general population, and also to explore the relationship between gender, social values and attribution of blame in incest.

The JIBS was included in items 81-100 of the questionnaire and is presented in Table 6 below.

Table 6. The Jackson Incest Blame Scale (Jackson & Ferguson, 1983)

1.	There is a strong connection between the current morality and the crime of incest.
2.	The amount of sex and violence in the media today strongly influences the father to commit incest.
3.	When incest occurs it is the father's fault.
4.	There is a strong relationship between people being regarded as sex objects by our society and the crime of incest.
5.	The prevalence of incest is directly related to our societal values.
6.	A father who commits incest should be locked up for the act.
7.	Fathers who commit incest are "mentally ill" or psychologically disturbed.

Table 6. The Jackson Incest Blame Scale (Jackson & Ferguson, 1983) (cont'd.)

8.	Incest can be mainly attributed to peculiarities in the father's personality.
9.	It is the daughter who entices the father to commit incest.
10.	Incest is a product of a sexually unhealthy society.
11.	Daughters provoke the act of incest by using bad judgement, acting seductively, etc.
12.	Daughters are victims of incest because they deserve it.
13.	Incest can be avoided by the daughter.
14.	Incest is more likely to occur in broken homes.
15.	Alcohol and drugs are significant factors in the occurrence of incest.
16.	Incest is more likely to occur in families with poor interpersonal relationships.
17.	There is a certain kind of girl who becomes a victim of incest.
18.	Incest is more likely to occur in slum or "bad" areas.
19.	Fathers are driven to incest by internal factors.
20.	Incest is more likely to occur in families that are socially isolated from the community.

6. Case Management Decisions. In order to explore public opinion regarding case management decisions concerning incest, a fictitious scenario involving

disclosure of an incestuous father-daughter relationship was included in the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to decide on their willingness to report the case to authorities, preference for treatment or imprisonment for the father, removal of father and/or daughter from the home during the investigation and willingness to take the case to court.

These issues were addressed in items 101-104 of the questionnaire (see Appendix C). The scenario and case management questions are included in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Case Management Scenario and Questions.

Below is an example of a complaint of incest. Please read through the example and proceed to the next page.

Authorities were called to investigate a complaint of sexual abuse after a ten year old girl confided to her teacher that her father was "doing sex things" to her. During the course of the investigation, the girl's statements indicated that her father had been molesting her over a two year period. According to her statements, the sexual contact had begun by the father fondling his daughter. This had progressed to him having her masturbate him and, in recent months, to oral sex. The daughter stated she had been afraid to tell anyone since her father had told her that her mother would leave and they would both go to jail.

The father, age 40, is described by others as a "nice guy" and a successful professional. When confronted with his daughter's statements, he adamantly and consistently denied they were true. He stated he had no idea where his daughter got "her ideas" but added that she had always

Table 7. Case Management Scenario and Questions (cont'd.)

seemed unusually aware of and interested in sex. In addition, he stated that he believed her accusations were a way of "getting back" at him because of recent arguments with his daughter over her breaking household rules, particularly staying out late with neighborhood boys. The father continued to deny his daughter's allegations throughout the investigation and court proceedings.

If you were faced with an incest case like that described on page 12, what is your preferred course of action for the following?

101. In terms of court involvement:

1 I would prefer the case be taken to court.
2 I would not want the case taken to court.

102. If found guilty in terms of the outcome of the court:

1 I would want a term of imprisonment for the father.
2 I would want court-ordered treatment for the father.
3 I would want a term of imprisonment in combination with court-ordered treatment for the father.
4 I would want a suspended sentence or term of probation for the father.

103. In terms of social service agency involvement in the case:

1 I would want the father removed from the home during the investigation and legal involvement.
2 I would want the daughter removed from the home during the investigation and legal involvement.
3 I would want neither father nor daughter removed from the home during the investigation and legal involvement.
4 I would want both father and daughter separately removed from the home during the investigation and legal involvement.

Table 7. Case Management Scenario and Questions (cont'd.)

104. In terms of reporting, if you were the first person to be aware of a case like that described on page 14:

1 I would not report the case.
2 I would report the case to social services.
3 I would report the case to the police.
4 I would report the case to both the police and social services.

105. Have you ever been a victim of incest or child sexual abuse?

1 No.
2 Yes, it was (an) isolated incident(s).
3 Yes, it was continued over an extended period of time.

106. If yes above, what was the offender's relationship to you?

01 Father
02 Stepfather
03 Uncle
04 Grandfather
05 Brother
06 Male cousin
07 Family friend
08 Acquaintance
09 Stranger
10 Other

_____
_____

7. Past Victimization. In order to document incidence data and also to delineate characteristics of the research sample, respondents were asked if they had been

victims of child sexual abuse. Those endorsing a "yes" response were further asked to identify if the abuse was a(n) isolated incident(s), or a long term abusive relationship, and their relationship to the offender (e.g. offender was father, brother, acquaintance, etc.).

These questions covered items 105 and 106 of the questionnaire (see Appendix C), and are included in Table 7 above.

Subjects

In order to obtain the desired sample size of 500, eighteen hundred and twenty-one telephone numbers were used, from which 768 residences were contacted (Appendix D). Of the 768 residences contacted, 495 subjects agreed to participate (Appendix E)[1]. A total of 335 questionnaires were returned (232 female, 103 male), a return rate of 67.9% (Appendix F). Of the 335 returned questionnaires, 35 were deemed to be invalid due to their late arrival or being incomplete.

The first part of the questionnaire collected demographic information which is summarized below. More detailed information is included in Appendices F to M.

Age

Age range was from 18 to 82 years of age, with a mean age of 37.7 years for the total sample, 38.6 years for females and 35.7 years for males. Over fifty per cent of the sample was between the ages of 25 and 44 years of age. Distribution over age categories was similar between sexes although a higher proportion of males (40.9%) than females (30.9%) were in the 25-34 age group, and more females (9.7%) than males (3.2%) in the over 65 age group.

Marital Status

Over 50 per cent of the total sample was married. A much higher proportion of females (62.8%) than males (41.9%) were married. Similarly, nearly half (48.4%) the male sample was single, compared to 18.8 per cent of the female sample being single.

Children

Consistent with the above feature, 65.3 per cent of the subjects had at least one child, with a higher

proportion of females (73.4%) being parents than males (48.4%).

Education

About 20 per cent of the total sample had less than a high school diploma, while nearly 60 per cent had a high school diploma or technical/vocational training. Females tended to be less educated than males in terms of post-secondary training.

Occupation

Eighteen per cent of the total sample were homemakers, reflecting the 27 per cent of female respondents who identified this as their primary occupation. Other major occupations among female respondents included clerical workers (20.3%), service-type workers (e.g., waitress) (9.7%), and medical workers (e.g., nurses) (9.2%). Among male respondents, service type occupations (11.8%), students (10.9%), administrative workers (8.7%), and salesmen (8.7%) figured most prominently[2].

Summary of Demographic Features

Females were disproportionately represented, approximately two females to one male. Although willingness to participate was approximately equal between males (60%) and females (67%), significantly more females returned the questionnaire.

In general, females tended to be older, married with children; males to be younger, single and more highly educated.

Research Questions

Based on issues evident in the literature review, the questionnaire was designed to provide data to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the incidence of child sexual abuse based on a randomly selected sample of the general population?
2. Can the Attitudes towards Incest Scale (ATI) (Ciccone, 1982) be validated as an instrument measuring incest attitudes?

3. Can findings regarding the Jackson Incest Blame Scale (JIBS) (Jackson & Ferguson, 1983) be replicated using a randomly selected sample from the general population?
4. Are social values predictive of attitudes towards incest? More specifically, what is the form of the relationship between orthodox social values (Value-Orthodoxy Scale (VOS)) and
   i) attribution of blame in incest (JIBS)?
   ii) attitudes towards incest (ATI)?
5. Are attitudes towards women predictive of attitudes towards incest? That is, what is the form of the relationship between attitudes towards women (Spence-Helmreich Attitudes towards Women Scale (AWS)) and
   i) attribution of blame in incest (JIBS)?
   ii) attitudes towards incest (ATI)?
6. Are demographic variables predictive of attitudes towards incest and/or attribution of blame in incest? More specifically, what is the form of the relationship between sex, age, education and/or having children and
   i) attribution of blame in incest (JIBS)?
   ii) attitudes towards incest (ATI)?

7. Do victims of childhood sexual abuse manifest different attitudes than nonvictims on measures of
   i) orthodox social values (VOS Scale)?
   ii) attitudes towards women (AWS)?
   iii) attitudes towards incest (ATI)?
   iv) attribution of blame in incest (JIBS)?
8. What is public opinion regarding management decisions for a case of incest? Are there differences of opinion between groups (e.g., male vs. female; victim vs. nonvictim) regarding the decision to
   i) report a case of incest?
   ii) remove the child and/or father from the home?
   iii) prosecute an offending father?
   iv) treat and/or imprison an offending father?

Data Analysis

Questionnaires were summarized with respect to demographic information, presented at the beginning of this chapter. Response rates were tabulated and where applicable, Chi-Square tests were done to compare female and male response rates.

Incidence of sexual abuse among respondents was tabulated. Among victims, their relationship to the offender(s) was determined.

Responses to the case management section of the questionnaire were summarized and Chi-Square tests completed comparing males and females as well as victims and nonvictims on the four questions of this section.

In the above and subsequent cases where comparisons were made between victims and nonvictims, two sets of analyses were conducted. That is, comparisons were done for victims and nonvictims using the total sample and also for female victims and female nonvictims. The latter analyses were included because of the disproportionate number of females in the total sample which would bias results. However, these additional analyses did not yield any notably different findings and so only the significant comparisons between the victims and nonvictims using the total sample are presented and discussed.

Response frequencies, mean scores and standard deviations were tabulated for each item comprising the four instruments in the questionnaire: the Value-Orthodoxy Scale (VOS), Attitudes towards Women Scale (AWS), Attitudes towards Incest Scale (ATI) and the Jackson Incest Blame

Scale (JIBS). For each of these scales reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alphas), mean scale scores and standard deviations were calculated for females, males and the total sample. In view of the relatively large number of respondents who identified themselves as victims of childhood sexual abuse, t-tests were also carried out for each of the four scales to compare the mean scores of victims and nonvictims on each of the four scales.

In order to determine if subscales could be identified, exploratory factor analyses were carried out for the ATI scale and JIBS. Separate analyses were completed for females, males and the total sample. Mean subscale scores, standard deviations and Cronbach alphas were calculated for the final factors (subscales) emerging for the ATI scale and the JIBS.

To investigate the possibility that victims of sexual abuse could bias results, reliability coefficients for factors as well as regression analyses were redone excluding victim data. No apparent differences resulted and so further analyses excluding victims were deemed unnecessary.

Correlation matrices were calculated to assess the relationship among selected demographic variables, scale scores and subscale scores of the questionnaire.

In order to determine if demographic variables and/or social values were directly related to attitudes towards incest, stepwise regression analyses were then undertaken using age, parenthood, education, VOS total score and AWS total score as independent variables. Dependent measures included each of the subscales identified through the factor analyses as well as total ATI, total JIBS and the total of the subscale scores of the ATI.

Several additional analyses were then completed to further investigate attitudes towards incest and their relationship to demographic variables and social values. Subjects were blocked on a number of variables (sex, VOS score, AWS score, or education) and t-tests or analyses of variance carried out to investigate mean differences on ATI subscale scores and JIBS subscale scores.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the present study, the author investigated the relationship between gender, social values and attitudes towards father-daughter incest. It was hypothesized that conservative social values and traditional attitudes towards women would be associated with greater attribution of blame in general and endorsement of less informed, more stereotypical views towards father-daughter incest. It was further hypothesized that males and females differ in their attitudes towards father-daughter incest and that males would blame the victim more than would females. A 106 item mail-out questionnaire was designed which included items to determine basic demographic information (age, sex, marital status, children, occupation, education), incidence and nature of past childhood sexual abuse among respondents, and opinions on case management decisions regarding a fictitious scenario of father-daughter incest. Two measures of social values were included by incorporating the Attitudes towards Women Scale (AWS) and the Value-Orthodoxy Scale (VOS) into the questionnaire. Two

scales on attitudes towards incest were also included (Jackson Incest Blame Scale and Attitudes towards Incest Scale) within the questionnaire.

Presentation of results in the following discussion is conceptualized as having seven major sections: response rates to the questionnaire, incidence of sexual abuse among respondents, public opinion regarding case management decisions, descriptive data on each of the four scales of the questionnaire (VOS, AWS, ATI and JIBS), factor analyses of the ATI and the JIBS, regression analyses of the ATI and JIBS, and additional analyses based on contrast groups (victims vs. nonvictims; blocking on VOS or AWS scores).

Response Rates To The Questionnaire

Presented in Tables 8 and 9 are data outlining response rates to the questionnaire. In terms of the initial telephone contact requesting participation, 67 per cent of females contacted and 60 per cent of males contacted agreed to participate in the study. This difference was not significant ($x^2=3.46$, $df=1$, $p\leq.10$). Despite this similarity, a much higher proportion of females (n=317) than males (n=178) were recruited for the

study. The relatively high ratio of females to males implicates a factor in the original telephone contact, such as time of day of the call, or females being more likely to be in the home and/or answer the phone, as the source of the disproportion.

Table 8. Summary of Agreement or Refusal to Participate

	Total		Agreed		Refused	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Females	473	61.5	317	67.0	156	33.0
Males	295	38.4	178	60.3	117	39.7
Total	768	100.0	495	64.4	273	35.6

Comparison of return rates for the questionnaire revealed sex differences (see Table 9). That is, significantly more females than males completed and returned the questionnaire ($x^2=11.55$, $df=1$, $p<.01$).

Table 9.- Summary of Questionnaire Mailout & Return Rate[a]

	n Mailed	% Sample	n Returned	% Returned
Female	317	64.0	232	73.2
Male	178	36.0	103	57.8
Total	495	100.0	335	67.9

[a] The final sample number consisted of those questionnaires returned by 13 October 1989 which were completely and accurately filled out. Of the 335 returned questionnaires, 300 met these criteria. That is, 35 questionnaires were late or improperly filled out (Appendix G).

It is noted that a return rate of over 60 percent is considered acceptable, and reflects a relatively high response rate.

Incidence of Childhood Sexual Abuse Among Respondents

Presented in Tables 10 and 11 are data summarizing past sexual abuse among respondents. The nature of the data collected by the questionnaire classifies these results as retrospective data, which can be compared to other retrospective studies.

In the present study, the overall incidence of sexual abuse, collapsed across males and females for isolated incidents and extended abuse reveals that, as children, 17% of the total population was subjected to at least one incident of sexual abuse. Consideration of sex differences reveals that female children were at higher risk than male children: 21.7% of females reported at least one incident of sexual abuse as children compared to 6.5% of males.

The majority of sexual abuse reported involved isolated incident(s), accounting for about 80% of occurrences for both males and females.

Among respondents reporting isolated incident(s) of childhood sexual abuse, it was inferred that respondents who identified more than one offender were victimized on more than one occasion by a different offender each time (see Table 12).

Table 10. Incidence of Sexual Abuse as Children Among Respondents

	Total		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
No Abuse	249	83	162	78.3	87	93.5
Isolated Incident(s)	41	13.7	36	17.4	5	5.4
Extended Sexual Abuse	10	3.3	9	4.3	1	1.1

It is noted that incidence data of the present study is consistent with those of previous investigations (e.g., Finkelhor, 1978) and indicates that the incidence of child sexual abuse within the local community is alarmingly high.

Isolated Incident(s)

Five males reported being the victim of a single incident of sexual abuse as a child. Four of these cases involved nonrelatives, one involved an uncle (see Table 11).

Among female respondents, 35 women reported being the victim of one or more isolated incidents of sexual abuse. Six of these were the targets of isolated sexual abuse by different offenders on different occasions, the remaining 29 women reported a single incident of sexual abuse (see Tables 11 and 12). In the latter group, 55% of the assaults were by family members, 35% by non-family members known to the victim and the remaining 10% by unfamiliar offenders.

Among the six victims assaulted on more than one occasion by different offenders, all perpetrators were known to the victim (see Table 12).

Table 11. Past Sexual Abuse - Single Incident Relationship of Offender to Victim

Offender Victims	Male Victims n=5	Female n=36
Father		2
Stepfather		2
Uncle	1	2
Grandfather		2
Brother		2
Male Cousin		3
Family friend		7
Acquaintance	2	3
Stranger		2
Other	2 (1 Clergyman 1 Boarder)	5 (2 Brother-in-law 1 Store clerk 1 Babysitter 1 Female cousin)

That the perpetrator of child sexual abuse is most frequently known to the victim is a fact cited in the literature (e.g., Courtois, 1988; Sgroi, 1982) and substantiated by data from the present study.

Table 12. Past Sexual Abuse - Victimized More than One Incident[a]: Relationship of Offenders to Victim

	Female Victims n=6
	Offenders
Victim 1	Father, Grandfather, Uncle
Victim 2	Stepfather, Acquaintance
Victim 3	Father, Grandfather
Victim 4	Father, Mother, Acquaintance
Victim 5	Brother, Family friend, Acquaintance
Victim 6	Grandfather, Male cousin

[a] No males reported more than one victimization.

It is of interest to note that only female respondents reported two or more incidents of isolated sexual assaults. Thus, it would appear that not only are girls at greater risk to be sexually abused than are boys, they are at greater risk to be repeatedly sexually abused.

Extended Sexual Abuse

Ten respondents indicated they were sexually abused over an extended period of time: nine of these respondents were females, one was male (see Table 13). The incidence of extended sexual abuse for females in this study is thus 4.3%, for males 1.1%.

Similar to findings in previous studies (e.g. Herman, 1981; Russell, 1983), fathers were perpetrators in 30% of incidents, brothers or male cousins were each perpetrators in 30% of cases. The remaining offenders were uncle, acquaintance, stepfather or foster parents.

Table 13. Past Sexual Abuse Over Extended Time Period: Relationship of Offender(s) to Victim

	Female Victims n=9	Male Victims n=1
	Offender	Offender
Victim 1	Father	Foster Mother & Foster Father
Victim 2	Stepfather	
Victim 3	Brother	
Victim 4	Male cousin	
Victim 5	Acquaintance	
Victim 6	Father, 2 Brothers	
Victim 7	Male cousin, Family friend	
Victim 8	Brother, Male cousin	
Victim 9	Father, Uncle	

The predominance of family members as offenders in cases of extended abuse is notable, as is the preponderance of female victims (vs. male victims) of extenced childhood sexual abuse.

Implications of Incidence Data

There are notable similarities between incidence data of this study and those of previous investigations (see Table 14). Predictably, the retrospective nature of the findings implicate a much higher incidence of childhood sexual abuse than do studies based on reports of ongoing sexual abuse. The latter, of course, must depend on intervention in known cases and reporting by social agencies. That such intervention is both difficult and relatively rare (e.g. Spencer & Nicholson, 1988), likely accounts for the low incidence of sexual abuse cited in such studies.

Table 14. Comparison of Retrospective Incidence Data (Per Cent) on Childhood Sexual Abuse

	Present Study (1991) n=300	Russell (1983) n=930	Finkelhor (1978) n=530
Females	21.7	38	19.2
Males	6.5	--	8.6

An obvious critique of retrospective data is that findings are biased since victims of sexual abuse are more interested in such research, are inclined to volunteer and thus are overrepresented. A logical counterargument, however, is that working with material such as that in the questionnaire is traumatic for victims of sexual abuse, they are inclined to refuse and as such are underrepresented.

The consistency across retrospective studies lends their findings some validity: the combined incidence of all types of abuse is between 19-38%, female victims outnumber male victims at least 3 to 1; among incestuous offenders, fathers, male cousins, uncles and brothers figure predominantly.

Investigation of Case Management Issues

Four case management questions were included in the questionnaire. As is summarized in Tables 15 to 18, these questions involved decisions on whether or not to report the incest, whether or not to prosecute the father, decision to remove father and/or daughter from the home and court outcome for the father if found guilty.

Aside from summarizing data across sex, results were also tabulated to allow comparisons of victim's vs. nonvictim's decisions.

Decision to Report

Presented with the scenario of father-daughter incest in the questionnaire, the overwhelming majority of respondents indicated that they would report the case (see Table 15).

Table 15. Case Management Issues - Decision to Report

	No		Yes					
			Social Services		Police		Both	
Group	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Female	1	<1	55	27	23	11	128	62
Male	0	0	28	30	24	26	41	44
Total	1	<1	83	28	47	16	169	56
Victim	1	2	8	16	8	16	34	66
Nonvictim	0	0	75	30	39	16	135	54

Sex differences occurred regarding the preferred agency to which the report is made. Significantly more females (62%) than males (44%) preferred to report to both the police and social services whereas more males (26%) than females (11%) preferred to report to the police alone (x^2=13.17, df=3, $p \leq .004$). The higher percentage of females preferring involvement of both agencies is likely reflective of a strong child advocate position, also evident in other findings to be presented.

In general, these findings imply that members of the general public would be willing to intervene in a case of child sexual abuse.

Overall, respondents preferred to report to both the police and social services (56%), followed by social services alone (28%), with reporting to police only (16%) being the least preferred option. These findings are closely paralleled when comparing victims and nonvictims. Significant differences occurred, however, in that fewer victims (16%) than nonvictims (30%) preferred to report only to social services and more victims (66%) than nonvictims (54%) preferred to report to both agencies (x^2=9.23, df=3, $p \leq .026$). It is possible that, based on

the experience of their own victimization, victims support involvement of both agencies to ensure more effective intervention.

Decision to Remove Father and/or Daughter

When faced with the question as to whom should be removed from the home in a case of father-daughter incest, males and females differ significantly in their views ($x^2=10.69$, df=3, $p \leq .013$) (see Table 16). The most notable difference appeared in the greater proportion of females (75%) than males (61%) who supported removing the father from the home during the investigation. More males (10%) than females (3%) endorsed removing neither father nor daughter from the home, or removing the daughter from the home (14% vs. 7%).

The preferred intervention followed the same pattern for victims as for the total sample - removal of the father preferred most followed by removal of both, next preference was the removal of the daughter with removal of neither being the least preferred option.

In general, these findings suggest that the public viewed the father as the culpable participant and endorsed his removal from the home as the most favorable option.

Table 16. Case Management Issues - Decision to Remove Father and/or Daughter

	Remove Neither		Remove Father		Remove Daughter		Remove Both	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Female	6	3	155	75	15	7	31	15
Male	9	10	57	61	13	14	14	15
Total	15	5	212	71	28	9	45	15
Victim	1	2	38	74	3	6	9	18
Nonvictim	14	6	174	70	25	10	36	14

Decision to Prosecute

Respondents were asked whether or not they would prosecute the father in the scenario described in the questionnaire. Males and females differed significantly in their decision to prosecute (see Table 17). That is, more females (87%) than males (76%) preferred to prosecute the case ($x^2=6.09$, df=1, $p \leq .014$); this is consistent with the finding noted previously wherein significantly more females than males preferred reporting the incest to the police and social services.

Victims and nonvictims also showed significant differences - 94% of victims showed the highest preference to prosecute, compared to 82% of nonvictims. These findings are consistent with previous findings where females adopted a stronger child advocate position. The relatively high percentage of victims choosing to prosecute is of note and like findings from the other case management questions, indicates a preference for strong intervention, quite possibly based on their own experience of sexual abuse.

Table 17. Case Management Issues - Decision to Prosecute

	Yes		No	
	n	%	n	%
Females	181	87	26	13
Males	70	76	22	24
Total	251	84	48	16
Victims	48	94	3	6
Nonvictims	203	82	45	18

These findings suggest that the public overwhelmingly views incest as a criminal act. The significant difference between males and females must be qualified with the observation that while significantly fewer males than females supported prosecuting the case, a high proportion of males (76%) advocated prosecution.

Court Outcome for Father

When asked to choose a court outcome for the father if he was found guilty, respondents were highly similar in their preference for court outcome. The most preferred option was a combination of prison sentence and treatment (75%), followed by treatment only (21%). Across all groups, the least preferred options were prison only (4%) or suspended sentence (1%).

Table 18. Case Management Issues - Court Outcome for Father

	Imprisonment		Treatment		Prison & Treatment		Suspended Sentence	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Females	5	2	44	21	156	76	1	1
Males	4	4	19	20	69	74	1	1
Total	9	3						
Victim	1	2	13	26	37	72	0	0
Nonvictim	8	3	50	20	189	76	2	1

The consistent and similar results between sexes, and victims and nonvictims, implies that despite the stronger child-advocate position and endorsement of stronger interventions, females and victims do not endorse more punitive measures against the offender. As well, the majority of respondents viewed the incestuous act as criminal, as implied by their endorsement of imprisonment as part of the father's sentence.

Description and Analyses of Scales Included in the Questionnaire

Figure 1 presents information for interpretation of each of the four scales included in the questionnaire. In order to gain conceptual consistency, it was necessary to reflect scoring on some items in the Value-Orthodoxy Scale, Attitudes towards Women Scale, and Attitudes towards Incest Scale (i.e., scoring on these items was reversed whereby a scale score of 5 was reflected to equal 1, a score of 4 reflected to equal 2, and a score of 3 was unchanged). For the VOS, scores were reflected on all even-numbered items presented in Table 3. For the AWS, reflected items included 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10 and 12-15 as listed in Table 4. For the ATI, reflected items are marked with asterisks in Table 23 and Table 26.

Figure 1. Interpretation of Scale Scores

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

1. Value Orthodoxy Scale

Low Score <----------> High Score
Liberal Views — Conservative Views

2. Attitudes towards Women Scale

Low Score <----------> High Score
Pro-feminist — Traditional

3. Attitudes towards Incest Scale

Low Score <----------> High Score
Child advocate position, More informed — Endorses stereotypes, Less informed

4. Jackson Incest Blame Scale

Low Score <----------> High Score
Blames More — Blames Less

More detailed descriptive statistics for each scale are discussed below.

Value-Orthodoxy Scale (VOS)

Indicated in mean scale scores is a slight tendency of respondents to endorse conservative viewpoints. Comparison of female and male subjects shows that females ($\bar{x}$=3.32) scored significantly higher than males ($\bar{x}$=3.15) on the VOS, suggesting that they are more conservative in their views ($t=2.53$, $df=298$, $p \leq .012$) (see Table 19). Despite being statistically significant, however, the magnitude of the difference between males and females in the present study is small and it is debatable if it is indicative of a valid gender difference. Furthermore, given that the mean scale scores for males and females are in the midrange (indicating neither conservative nor liberal tendencies), meaningful interpretation of the significant gender difference is of questionable use.

It is noted that in data presented by Jackson (1976) on college and high school student samples, females also scored slightly higher than males on the Value-Orthodoxy scale.

Table 19. Value-Orthodoxy Scale Descriptive Statistics

	n	Item $\bar{x}$	s.d.	t	Prob.	Scale Reliability
Females	207	3.32	.54	2.53	.012	.77
Males	93	3.15	.56			.78
Total	300	3.27	.55			.78
Victims	51	3.28	.55	.73	.47	
Nonvictims	249	3.22	.56			

Reliability coefficients for the VOS indicate an acceptable level of internal consistency, with Cronbach's alpha approaching the .80 level.

Mean scale scores were not significantly different between victims and nonvictims (3.28 vs. 3.22) ($t=.73$, $df=298$, $p \leq .47$).

Attitudes towards Women Scale (AWS)

Endorsement of profeminist attitudes towards women is apparent in mean scale scores (see Table 20).

Table 20. Attitudes towards Women Scale Descriptive Statistics

	n	Item $\bar{x}$	s.d.	t	Prob.	Scale Reliability
Females	207	2.10	.64	-2.81	0.006	.80
Males	93	2.32	.61			.80
Total	300	2.17	.64			.80
Victims	51	2.19	.57	1.32	.188	
Nonvictims	249	2.06	.65			

Females are significantly more profeminist than males ($t=-2.81$, $df=298$, $p \leq .006$). It is noted, however, that the magnitude of the difference between males and females, while significant, is relatively small and that males in general adopted a profeminist position. Victims and nonvictims did not differ significantly in their attitudes towards women ($t=1.32$, $df=298$, $p=.188$).

Reliability coefficients of .80 demonstrate good internal consistency of the scale and replicate findings by Spence and Helmreich (1978).

Attitudes towards Incest Scale (ATI)

Summation of scores over the 39 items of the ATI provided a total scale score; mean scale scores and other descriptive data are summarized in Table 21.

Table 21. Attitudes towards Incest Scale Descriptive Statistics

	n	Scale $\bar{x}$	s.d.	t	Prob.	Reliability Coefficient
Females	207	82.35	10.98	-5.37	0.001	.64
Males	93	89.77	11.12			.65
Total	300	84.77	11.54			.67
Victims	51	80.75	11.11	2.68	0.008	
Nonvictims	249	85.45	11.47			

The significantly lower mean score of female subjects compared to male subjects indicates that they adopted a more extreme child-advocate position and/or were less supportive of stereotypical views of incest ($t=-5.37$, $df=298$, $p \leq 0.001$).

Comparison of victims and nonvictims also revealed highly significant differences ($t=2.74$, $df=298$, $p \leq 0.008$). Not surprisingly, victims of childhood sexual abuse adopted a strong child-advocate position and disagreed with stereotypical views of incest.

Cronbach alpha coefficients for the ATI, while less than ideal (.64 - .67), indicate a fair degree of internal consistency. Given that this scale has yet to be extensively developed, these coefficients may be improved with further research and development of the ATI.

Factor Analyses of the Attitudes towards Incest Scale

In an effort to validate the ATI by establishing factorial validity, factor analyses of this scale were undertaken.

Based on findings from exploratory factor analyses, those items which had low communalities and/or were conceptually inconsistent were eliminated from final analyses. This resulted in a total of 25 of the original 39 items being retained for female subjects and a total of 26 of the original 39 items being retained for male subjects.

Among the final lists of items, only those items which loaded $\geq .30$ on a given factor were considered for inclusion on that factor.

It should be noted that since mean scores on items were the basis from which subsequent analyses were completed, rather than factor scores, "factors" emerging from the following analyses are more accurately described as subscales, rather than factors.

Female Subjects

As is outlined in Tables 22 to 24, two clear subscales emerged for female subjects. These subscales are based on a four factor solution from a Principal Axis analysis with squared multiple correlations in the diagonal of the correlation matrix.

The four-factor solution was selected because of the clarity of the two subscales described below. These subscales did not appear in five, three or two factor solutions, nor did these other solutions yield findings which made conceptual sense.

The first subscale, labelled "Credibility" incorporates a subset of six items pertaining to the credibility of the child's disclosure of incest, the extent

to which she is viewed as behaving seductively and/or the plausibility of a child lying about incest to manipulate others. It should be noted that this subscale appeared consistently across all exploratory factor analyses, in both male and females samples. This would indicate it is both an important and robust component of the ATI scale.

In order to gain greater conceptual homogeneity, item(s) 11 and 29-32 were dropped from the finalized list of items for subscale 1. Excluding these items lowered the reliability coefficient somewhat from .73 to .67 but did not appear to influence regression analyses or subsequent tests. By eliminating those items which did not appear to be related to the "Credibility" theme, interpretation of the first subscale becomes more meaningful.

Consideration of mean item scores on the "Credibility" subscale reveals a consistent trend of disagreement with statements describing the child as seductive, manipulative or acting on fantasy. When reviewing these mean scores in Table 23, it should be noted that those means marked with an asterisk (*) were reflected in their scoring to be conceptually consistent with the total scale score. That is, lower means (e.g.,<3) indicate a more informed, child-advocate position than do higher scores (e.g.,>3).

The second subscale labelled "Parental Influence" includes seven items which primarily involve the incestuous father, possible factors influencing his behavior, and parental influence on the child. The reliability of this subscale is .66.

Examination of mean item scores for the "Parental Influence" subscale indicates a trend of disagreeing with statements which attempt to explain dynamics behind the father's incestuous role (items 4, 6, 28) and/or which reflect stereotypical views of incest (item 37). Empathy with the child's plight is indicated by agreement with items 9 and 35. Interestingly, support for the presence of alcohol abuse in the father's incestuous behavior is implicated by agreement with item 16. This occurrence (i.e., alcohol problems among incestuous fathers) has also been noted in the literature (McGowen & Peters, 1988).

The remaining seven items loaded on the third and fourth subscales, except for item 12 which did not load definitively on any subscale. These latter two subscales were conceptually unclear and so were excluded from subsequent analyses.

Further information on these subscales is summarized in Table 23.

Table 22. Factor Loadings for Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Female Sample (n=207)

Item	Communality	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 1 - Credibility					
11	.22	.36	.03	.12	.26
17	.36	.57	-.16	.00	.13
18	.29	.52	.07	-.07	.08
20	.16	.38	.02	-.04	.12
29	.23	.38	-.26	-.06	.07
30	.25	.40	-.09	.23	-.18
31	.27	.50	-.09	.10	.04
32	.36	.54	-.22	-.09	-.11
33	.22	.45	-.02	.10	.09
36	.46	.67	-.09	-.05	-.03
38	.14	.35	-.01	.07	.11
Factor 2 - Parental Influence					
4	.21	-.08	.44	-.04	.07
6	.38	.26	-.37	-.01	.42
9	.27	-.10	.50	.07	.10
16	.35	.01	.59	-.04	-.04
28	.35	-.23	.53	.11	-.04
35	.11	.05	.33	-.01	.01
37	.27	.15	-.36	-.01	.36
Factor 3 - Conceptually unclear					
8	.29	-.02	-.09	.53	.04
10	.34	.10	.06	-.56	.06
13	.25	.16	.15	.44	.12
27	.23	.12	.20	.38	.19
Factor 4 - Conceptually unclear					
15	.27	.30	-.06	.07	.41
22	.31	-.10	.11	.12	.52
12	.14	.20	.17	-.02	.26

Table 23. Finalized List of Subscale Items for Attitudes towards Incest Scale[a] - Female Subscales (n=207)

	$\bar{x}$	s.d.
Subscale 1 - Credibility		
17. A history of an incestuous relationship with her father given by an adult woman frequently is based on childhood fantasy and feelings of attraction towards her father.	2.18*	1.13
18. An incest claim by a child against a stepparent is frequently based on an attempt to get the stepparent out of the home.	2.25*	1.11
20. The female child in an incest situation typically is seductive and sexually advanced for her age.	1.84*	1.30
32. Incestuous claims from an adolescent daughter are often based upon her guilt over her seductive behavior towards her father.	2.10*	1.20
33. It is best to wait until an incest claim is proven before accepting it as being true.	2.41*	1.49
36. Incest claims from very young children are confused fantasies based on attraction to their father.	1.94*	1.14
Subscale 2 - Parental Influence		
4. The father in an incest situation comes from a very rigid, strict upbringing.	3.14	1.14
6. Incestuous fathers are usually below normal in intelligence.	3.97	1.15

Table 23. Finalized List of Subscale Items for Attitudes towards Incest Scale[a] - Female Subscales (n=207) (cont'd.)

	$\bar{x}$	s.d.
Subscale 2 - Parental Influence (cont'd.)		
9. Children are more vulnerable to an incestuous situation when they lack closeness and nonsexual affection from their parents.	2.61	1.28
16. Incestuous fathers are often alcohol abusers.	2.47	1.15
28. In an incestuous family, the father rarely has many friends or social contacts outside the home.	3.18	1.17
35. A child who has experienced incest will often show delinquent behaviors in adolescence.	2.09	1.11
37. Incest is more likely to occur in families of low incomes.	1.87*	1.07

[a] Mean scores marked with an asterisk indicate scoring was reflected on that item.

Table 24. Descriptive Statistics for Attitudes towards Incest - Female Subscales (n=207)

Factor	Subscale $\bar{x}$	s.d.	Reliability
Credibility	2.12	.76	.67
Parental Influence	3.08	.66	.66

Comparison of female victims and female nonvictims on these subscales did not yield significant findings (Credibility - $t=.27$, $df=205$, $p\leq.27$; Parental Influence - $t=1.01$, $df=205$, $p\leq.31$).

Male Subjects

As with the female sample, items with low communalities were excluded from the final factor analyses. This resulted in a total of 26 items being retained (see Table 25).

Factors were identified from the Principal Axis Analysis with squared multiple correlations on the diagonal (four-factor solution). The first subscale incorporating six items, remained conceptually unclear. That the first subscale to emerge from the factor analyses was conceptually unclear is, obviously, less than ideal. Examination of items 6, 7, 16, 28, 37 and 38 did not reveal any conceptual themes, however, and the subscale was deemed noninterpretable. Despite the problematic nature of this first subscale, however, the three subsequent subscales which emerged were interpretable and are discussed below. As well, item 39 did not load significantly on any factor.

The second subscale, labelled "Credibility" is comprised of eight items and very closely coincides with the female "Credibility" subscale (see Table 26). Item eight was dropped from the finalized list in order to improve conceptual clarity. Reliability measures on the subscale rose slightly as a result, from .73 to .75.

Table 25. Factor Loadings for Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Male Sample (n=93)

Item	Communality	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 1 - Conceptually unclear					
6	.42	.63	.14	.01	-.05
7	.21	-.44	-.13	.03	.05
16	.25	-.41	-.07	.11	.26
28	.30	-.47	-.21	.15	-.07
37	.26	.45	.20	-.11	.01
38	.40	.60	-.00	.22	.05
Factor 2 - Credibility					
8	.30	-.18	.31	.09	.41
17	.45	.24	.62	.11	-.02
18	.37	.17	.57	.02	.07
20	.27	.21	.43	.19	-.06
21	.35	.01	.59	-.08	.01
32	.42	.36	.49	.20	-.07
33	.23	.34	.33	-.04	.01
36	.60	.40	.57	-.13	.30

Table 25. Factor Loadings for Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Male Sample (n=93) (cont'd.)

Item	Communality	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 3 - Child's Victimization					
1	.32	-.19	.10	.46	.24
9	.39	-.30	-.06	.51	-.20
23	.13	-.02	.14	.30	-.12
25	.39	.04	-.24	.55	.19
34	.37	.06	.11	.54	.24
35	.37	.09	.18	.54	.17
Factor 4 - Power Dynamic					
8	.30	-.18	.31	.09	.41
10	.37	.32	-.07	.10	-.50
12	.42	.28	-.20	.13	.54
13	.24	-.04	.23	.17	.39
26	.23	.00	-.15	.17	.42
39	.14	.16	.11	.23	.22

Table 26. Finalized List of Subscale Items for Attitudes towards Incest Scale[a] - Male Sample (n=93)

	$\bar{x}$	s.d.
Subscale 1 - Credibility		
17. A history of an incestuous relationship with her father given by an adult woman frequently is based on childhood fantasy and feelings of attraction towards her father.	3.20*	1.07

Table 26. Finalized List of Subscale Items for Attitudes towards Incest Scale[a] - Male Sample (n=93) (cont'd.)

	$\bar{x}$	s.d.
Subscale 1 - Credibility (cont'd.)		
18. An incest claim by a child against a stepparent is frequently based on an attempt to get the stepparent out of the home.	2.34*	1.06
20. The female child in an incest situation typically is seductive and sexually advanced for her age.	2.26*	1.20
21. When a father turns to his daughter for sex, it is often because his wife is not sexually available.	2.27*	1.19
32. Incestuous claims from an adolescent daughter are often based upon her guilt over her seductive behavior towards her father.	2.39*	1.10
33. It is best to wait until an incest claim is proven before accepting it as being true.	3.03*	1.42
36. Incest claims from very young children are confused fantasies based on attraction to their father.	2.25*	0.89
Subscale 2 - Victimization		
1. An incestuous relationship can easily disrupt the child's development of behavior appropriate for her age.	1.10	0.39
9. Children are more vulnerable to an incestuous situation when they lack closeness and nonsexual affection from their parents.	2.58	0.84

Table 26. Finalized List of Subscale Items for Attitudes towards Incest Scale[a] - Male Sample (n=93) (cont'd.)

	$\bar{x}$	s.d.
Subscale 2 - Victimization (cont'd.)		
23. It should not be considered incest if a grandparent and grandchild have a sexual relationship.	1.32*	1.03
25. Incest is a form of child abuse.	1.22*	0.84
34. Children are vulnerable to the sexual demands of their father.	1.81	1.07
35. A child who has experienced incest will often show delinquent behaviors in adolescence.	2.07	0.92
Subscale 3 - Power Dynamic		
8. In cases of father-daughter incest, the father should be removed from the home.	1.56	0.94
10. A father who forces his children into a sexual relationship should be severely punished.	4.64*	0.84
12. An incestuous father often feels it is his right as a parent to have sexual contact with his daughter.	3.17	1.19
13. Sexually suggestive and seductive behavior between a father and an adolescent daughter could be an incestuous situation.	2.13	1.00
26. A daughter will often cooperate with her father's sexual demands to protect her sisters and brothers.	2.41	1.07

[a] Mean scores marked with an asterisk indicate scoring was reflected on that item.

Consideration of mean item scores reveals a consistent trend towards disagreeing with statements which view the child as seductive, manipulative or acting on fantasy.

Six out of seven items on the ATI "Credibility" factor overlap for males and females. A t-test on the mean total score for these items reveals a significant difference (see Table 27).

Table 27. Comparison of Female and Male Subjects on the Credibility Subscale

	Subscale				
	n	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	t	Prob.
Females	207	12.73	4.58	-3.90	0.001
Males	93	14.91	4.45		

This significant difference suggests that while both males and females disagreed with statements depicting the child as seductive or fantasizing, males disagreed significantly less than females with these stereotypes ($t=-3.90$, $df=298$, $p \leq 0.001$).

The third subscale, labelled "Victimization" incorporates six items relating to the child's exploitation in an incestuous relationship, and/or the harmful effects of incest on the child. Reliability of this factor is .63.

Mean item scores on the "Victimization" subscale reveal a consistent trend of supporting statements describing the harmful effects of incest on the child and the child's vulnerability to sexual exploitation. This suggests males were empathic towards the child's victimization.

The fourth subscale, labelled "Power Dynamic", clusters five items pertaining to the coercive actions by the father which occur in incestuous relationships. Thus, items relate to the father's power tactics and/or society's need to protect the child. This factor presents the lowest internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of .51.

Mean item scores on the "Power Dynamic" subscale shows awareness of the coercive elements in an incestuous relationship. Like the "Victimization" factor, scores indicate an empathic orientation towards the child.

Emergence of the "Power Dynamic" subscale, in conjunction with the "Victimization" factor parallel key

dynamics cited in the literature in rape and other forms of sexual violence (e.g., Groth, 1979). That is, the pertinence of the sex offender's domination and exploitation of his victim to meet nonsexual needs of power and control, has been well described in the literature. These dynamics appear to be recognized in their emergence as subscales for the male group, who adopted an empathic stance towards the victim.

Descriptive statistics for male subscales of the ATI are summarized in Table 28.

Table 28. Descriptive Statistics for Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Male Subscales (n=93)

Subscale	Subscale $\bar{x}$	s.d.	Reliability Coefficient
Credibility	2.35	.79	.75
Victimization	1.96	.64	.63
Power Dynamic	2.12	.59	.51

The low number of male victims preclude meaningful comparison of victims and nonvictims on these subscales.

Discussion of Analyses of the Attitudes towards Incest Scale

One purpose of the present study was to attempt to validate the Attitudes towards Incest Scale as an instrument measuring incest attitudes.

Findings of the present study on the Attitudes towards Incest Scale support its validity and potential value as an assessment tool. Content validity of the ATI is indicated by the emergence of a total score which appears to provide an index of the respondent's sophistication and child advocate position concerning father-daughter incest. Identification of two subscales for females and three subscales for males also advances the validity of the ATI. As noted previously, the Credibility subscale appears to be robust and significant for both males and females. Conceptual clarity is also evident in the remaining subscales. For males, factors appear to centre on themes of power and victimization which are highly relevant in the area of sexual violence.

Internal consistency of the ATI, while not optimal, is sufficiently high to suggest there is a foundation from which the instrument might be further improved.

Findings from the present study are much more promising regarding the ATI than the original work by Ciccone (1982). Possible reasons for the disparities include the much broader sample of the present study which likely allows more diversity to emerge regarding attitudes towards incest. As well, the issue of incest and child sexual abuse is much more recognized by the general public than nine years ago when the original work was completed by Ciccone (1982).

Utilization of a Likert scale in the present study, rather than true-false format (Ciccone, 1982) may also have helped to detect attitudinal differences. As well, conceptualization of a total score on the ATI with reflection of scores as necessary on some items may also have improved results. Finally, simplification of wording on some items of the ATI, necessary for a public survey may also have improved results. This is particularly true for those items in the "Credibility" subscale wherein the term "Oedipal" was replaced by the phrase "childhood fantasy".

Descriptive Statistics and Factor Analyses of the Jackson Incest Blame Scale

In order to replicate previous findings (e.g., Doughty & Schneider, 1987; Jackson & Ferguson, 1983), factor analyses of the JIBS were undertaken (see Table 29).

Factor analyses for the JIBS identified the same subscales for males and females; these are summarized in Table 30. It is noted that, in the present study, the equivalent factor analysis which was completed by Jackson and Ferguson (1983) (i.e., a principal component analysis) did not yield exactly the same findings. That is, in the present study, a principal component analysis (four factor solution) was problematic in that the "Offender" subscale items were dispersed over other subscales and did not clearly emerge. As a result, in the present study, a principal axis analysis (five factor solution) was completed and five clear subscales emerged.

The five subscales identified included Victim Blame, Societal Blame, Situational Blame, Offender Blame and Offender Mental Status Blame. Despite the emergence of a fifth subscale (Offender Mental Status), results of the

present study closely replicate those of the original research on the JIBS (Jackson & Ferguson, 1983). Exceptions are noted in that the "Victim" subscale includes item 3, which loads negatively. This item loaded on the "Offender" subscale in the Jackson and Ferguson (1983) study. The "Societal" subscale is identical to the original one. "Situational" blame is also the same except for item 20 which loaded on both this subscale and the "Offender" subscale. It is noted that this pattern was the same for item 20 in the original study.

In terms of replication, the Offender subscale was least consistent with the original findings by Jackson and Ferguson (1983). That is, in the present study, the Offender subscale split into two subscales, one which relates to the mental status of the offender, the other comprised of the remaining two items.

It is of interest that the "Offender Mental Status" subscale emerges as distinct from the original "Offender" subscale. The nature of these items appears to explain the offender's incestuous behavior on the grounds of mental instability. It is suggested that this item does not, in actuality, attribute blame but rather excuses the offender from responsibility for his incestuous actions.

Descriptive statistics for the JIBS items and subscales are presented in Tables 30 and 31. Internal consistency of the JIBS is generally good as indicated by reliability coefficients in the .70 range. Exceptions are in the "Offender" and "Offender Mental Status" subscales, which are lower, and very likely due to the limited number of items in each subscale.

Table 29. Factor Loadings for Jackson Incest Blame Scale Total Sample (n=300)

		Factor				
Item	Communality	1	2	3	4	5
Factor 1 - Victim						
3	.27	-.45	.09	.15	-.16	.11
9	.72	.83	.08	.11	.13	-.05
11	.59	.73	.14	.16	.06	-.06
12	.22	.46	-.01	.09	.03	-.02
13	.28	.47	.14	.10	-.16	-.00
17	.27	.39	.18	.28	.07	-.09
Factor 2 - Societal						
1	.41	.09	.61	.14	-.13	.05
2	.39	.09	.57	.22	.10	.02
4	.48	.03	.69	.08	.02	-.04
5	.47	.10	.68	.02	.04	.01
10	.25	.01	.46	.15	-.10	.07

Table 29. Factor Loadings for Jackson Incest Blame Scale Total Sample (n=300) (cont'd.)

Item	Communality	Factor 1	2	3	4	5
Factor 3 - Situational						
14	.46	.30	.13	.59	-.07	.06
15	.30	.06	.18	.51	.01	.07
16	.49	-.08	.14	.59	.32	.09
18	.38	.24	.16	.52	.01	.17
20	.47	.10	.09	.44	.50	.11
Factor 4 - Offender						
6	.24	-.11	.20	.01	-.40	.16
19	.34	.04	.04	.06	.52	.26
20	.47	.10	.09	.44	.50	.11
Factor 5 - Offender Mental Status						
7	.38	-.13	.07	.02	.07	.60
8	.30	-.05	-.02	.23	.03	.49

Table 30. List of Subscale Items for Jackson Incest Blame Scale

Blame Subscale	Females n=207		Males n=93		Total n=300	
Item	Item $\bar{X}$	s.d.	Item $\bar{X}$	s.d.	Item $\bar{X}$	s.d.
Victim						
-3. When incest occurs it is the father's fault.	1.61	1.01	1.83	1.09	1.68	1.04
9. It is the daughter who entices the father to commit incest.	4.70	0.62	4.38	0.79	4.60	0.69
11. Daughters provoke the act of incest by using bad judgement, acting seductively, etc.	4.50	0.86	4.11	1.04	4.38	0.93
12. Daughters are victims of incest because they deserve it.	4.94	0.25	4.89	0.40	4.93	0.31
13. Incest can be avoided by the daughter.	3.98	1.24	3.61	1.24	3.87	1.25
17. There is a certain kind of person who becomes a victim of incest.	4.48	0.91	4.36	0.90	4.44	0.91
Societal						
1. There is a strong connection between the current morality and the crime of incest.	2.77	1.32	2.74	1.34	2.76	1.26
2. The amount of sex and violence in the media today strongly influences the father to commit incest.	3.33	1.32	3.28	1.35	3.31	1.32

Table 30. List of Subscale Items for Jackson Incest Blame Scale

Blame Subscale / Item	Females n=207 Item $\bar{x}$	Females n=207 s.d.	Males n=93 Item $\bar{x}$	Males n=93 s.d.	Total n=300 Item $\bar{x}$	Total n=300 s.d.
Societal (cont'd.)						
4. There is a strong relationship between people being regarded as sex objects by our society and the crime of incest.	2.90	1.27	3.13	1.30	2.97	1.28
5. The prevalence of incest is directly related to our societal values.	3.04	1.24	3.18	1.28	3.09	1.25
10. Incest is a product of a sexually unhealthy society.	2.63	1.35	2.88	1.42	2.71	1.38
Situational						
14. Incest is more likely to occur in broken homes.	3.77	1.16	3.10	1.23	3.56	1.22
15. Alcohol and drugs are significant factors in the occurrence of incest.	2.56	1.25	2.54	1.11	2.55	1.21
16. Incest is more likely to occur in families with poor interpersonal relationships.	2.69	1.33	2.56	1.16	2.65	1.28
18. Incest is more likely to occur in slum or "bad" areas.	4.23	1.04	3.82	2.20	4.10	1.10
20. Incest is more likely to occur in families that are socially isolated from the community.	3.55	1.29	3.52	1.14	3.54	1.25
Offender						
-6. A father who commits incest should be locked up for the act.	1.88	1.18	1.19	1.13	1.89	1.16

Table 30. List of Subscale Items for Jackson Incest Blame Scale

Blame Subscale	Females n=207		Males n=93		Total n=300	
Item	Item $\bar{x}$	s.d.	Item $\bar{x}$	s.d.	Item $\bar{x}$	s.d.
Offender (cont'd.)						
19. Fathers are driven to incest by internal factors.	2.92	1.32	2.92	1.21	2.92	1.28
Offender Mental Status						
7. Fathers who commit incest are "mentally ill" or psychologically disturbed.	1.68	1.12	1.81	1.02	1.71	1.09
8. Incest can be mainly attributed to peculiarities in the father's personality.	2.21	0.18	2.41	1.07	2.27	1.15

Consideration of mean subscale scores reveals the same pattern of attribution of blame for males and females: Offender Mental Status blamed most followed by Offender, Societal, and Situational blame, with the Victim being the least blamed.

Sex differences are evident on the Victim subscale and Situational subscale. Evident in the scores on the Victim subscale, males blamed the victim significantly more than

did females ($t=3.35$, $df=152.50$, $p \leq .001$). As well, males attributed significantly more blame to the Situational subscales than did females ($t=2.54$, $df=187.12$, $p \leq .012$).

These findings are similar to the work by Jackson and Ferguson (1983). The rank order of degree of blame attributed on each subscale differs, however, in that the blame attributed to the Societal and Situational subscales in the present study has switched positions; the Societal subscale scored second lowest in the original study, and third lowest in the present study, with the converse being true for the Situational subscale. As well, sex differences occurred only on the Victim subscale in the original work whereas they also occurred on the Situational subscale in the present study.

T-tests between victims and nonvictims did not reveal any significant differences over the five subscales. This is of note in that having been a victim of sexual abuse does not appear to influence attribution of blame in incest. The finding by Jackson and Ferguson (1983) which indicated victims blamed societal factors more than did nonvictims, is not supported in the present study. As Jackson and Ferguson (1983) noted, however, their finding was based on a very limited sample size (n=5).

Table 31. Jackson Incest Blame Scale Descriptive Statistics for Subscales

	Victim*			Societal			Situational**			Offender			Offender Mental Status			Item Total		
	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	Rel.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	Rel.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	Rel.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	Rel.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	Rel.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	Rel.
Female n=207	26.99	3.12	.64	14.68	4.54	.74	16.80	4.18	.72	7.04	1.93	.33	3.88	1.92	.57	69.41	9.27	.73
Male n=93	25.52	3.72	.73	15.22	4.83	.77	15.53	3.94	.70	7.01	1.71	.13	4.22	1.59	.28	67.48	9.79	.77
Total n=300	26.54	3.38	.68	14.85	4.63	.75	16.41	4.14	.71	7.03	1.86	.28	3.99	1.83	.50	68.81	9.46	.75

* Females x significantly > males ($t=3.35$, $df=152.50$, $p<.001$)
** Females x significantly > males ($t=2.54$, $df=187.12$, $p<.0.012$)

Investigation of Hypotheses and Discussion of Findings

Correlations Among Variables and Scales

Before completing regression analyses, consideration was given to simple correlations among variables to be used in the regression analyses. These variables included demographic data (age, children, education), the Attitudes towards Women Scale, Value-Orthodoxy Scale, Attitudes

towards Incest Scale (total score and subscales) and Jackson Incest Blame Scale (total score and subscales). Data from these correlations are presented in Tables 32 to 36.

Initial correlations were completed for demographic variables (age, children, education), and total scale scores (Attitudes towards Women Scale, Value-Orthodoxy Scale, Attitudes towards Incest Scale and Jackson Incest Blame Scale). These correlations are presented in Table 32.

Table 32. Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Scales and Independent Variables (n=300)

	Age	Children	Education	AWS	VOS	ATI Total	JIBS Total
Age	--	-.45	.07	.22	.32	.03	-.03
Children		--	.01	-.11	-.37	.11	-.05
Education			--	-.15	-.02	-.06	-.11
AWS				--	.43	.34	-.22
VOS					--	-.01	-.08
ATI Total						--	-.06
JIBS Total							--

Examination of Table 32 reveals that a low positive correlation is evident between Value-Orthodoxy Scale (VOS) score and age (r=.32) suggesting more conservative attitudes are associated with increasing age. Similarly, VOS scores and Attitudes towards Women (AWS) scale scores are positively correlated (r=.43): liberal social values are associated with profeminist attitudes towards women. Interestingly, a low negative biserial correlation (r=-.37) is shown between VOS score and the demographic variable of having children or not. That is, being a parent is associated with more liberal social values.

The next correlations to be completed included correlations among demographic variables, AWS, VOS and the five blame subscales of the JIBS (Victim, Societal, Situational, Offender and Offender Mental Status). Findings for these correlations are presented below.

Table 33. Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Jackson Incest Blame Scale Subscales and Independent Variables (n=300)

	Victim	Soc.	Sit.	Offender	Offender MS
Age	.01	-.07	-.08	.15	.05
Children	-.07	.05	-.07	-.13	.03
Education	.03	.05	-.25	-.19	-.02
VOS	-.03	-.31	.10	.16	.00
AWS	-.22	-.30	-.06	.14	.04
Victim	1.00	.20	.28	.10	-.12
Societal	.20	1.00	.32	-.08	.06
Situational	.28	.32	1.00	.19	.22
Offender	.10	-.08	.19	1.00	.07
Offender MS	-.12	.06	.22	.07	1.00
Blame Total	.57	.70	.78	.29	.29

Attention to Table 33 reveals that, among subscales of the JIBS, several low correlations with other variables are evident. The JIBS Societal Blame subscale is negatively correlated with Value-Orthodoxy Scale score (r=-.31) and also with Attitudes towards Women (r=-.30). Thus, more

liberal social values or profeminist attitudes towards women are linked to less blame attributed to societal variables.

Correlation coefficients were then determined among demographic variables, AWS, VOS and female subscales (Credibility, Parental Role) of the Attitudes towards Incest Scale for female subjects.

Table 34. Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Attitudes Towards Incest Scale Female Subscales and Independent Variables (n=207)

	Credibility	Parental Role	Incest Total
Age	.18	-.17	.03
Children	.02	.02	.11
Education	-.08	-.12	-.06
AWS	.28	-.04	.34
VOS	-.00	.03	-.01
Credibility	1.00	-.28	.59
Parental Role		1.00	.28

The only correlation of note evident in Table 34 is a low positive correlation (r=.28) between the Credibility subscale and the Attitudes towards Women Scale. This correlation suggests that among female subjects a tendency to accept a child's complaint of sexual abuse is associated with profeminist attitudes towards women.

Similar to the latter correlations, correlation coefficients were then determined among demographic variables, VOS, AWS and male subscales (Credibility, Victimization, Power) of the Attitudes towards Incest Scale for male subjects.

Table 35. Pearson Correlation Coefficients For Attitudes Towards Incest Scale Male Subscales and Independent Variables (n=93)

	Cred.	Vict.	Power	Incest Total
Age	.17	-.15	.09	.03
Children	.03	.11	.05	.10
Education	-.06	-.11	.06	-.06
AWS	.28	.12	.17	.34
VOS	-.02	.03	-.03	-.01
Credibility	1.00	.04	.18	.58
Victimization		1.00	.24	.60
Power			1.00	.62

Consistent with correlations among female subjects on the female ATI subscales, the only notable correlation in Table 35 is a low positive correlation between the AWS and Credibility subscale. This indicates that, among male subjects, accepting a child's complaint of incest as credible is associated with profeminist attitudes towards women.

In order to explore relationships between subscales measuring incest attitudes, Pearson correlation coefficients were determined among subscales of the JIBS and the ATI. These correlations are not presented in detail since they were not relevant to regression analyses. However, several noteworthy correlations occurred and are presented in Table 36.

Table 36. Notable Correlations between Attitudes towards Incest Scale Subscales and Jackson Incest Blame Scale Subscales

ATI Subscale	JIBS Subscale	Correlation
Credibility (Females)	Victim Blame	-.48
Credibility (Males)	Victim Blame	-.48
Power (Males)	Victim Blame	-.30
Parental Role (Females)	Situational Blame	.59
Parental Role (Females)	Blame Total Score	.50
Credibility (Females)	Blame Total Score	-.38
Credibility (Males)	Blame Total Score	-.38

For females, the Parental Role Subscale of the ATI and the Situational Blame Subscale showed a moderate, positive correlation (r=.59). This suggests a similarity between the subscales which becomes evident upon closer examination of subscale items. That is, both subscales incorporate items describing extenuating circumstances in an incestuous situation.

A moderate negative correlation between the JIBS Victim Blame Subscale and the ATI Credibility Subscale is noted for both males and females (r=-.48). Thus, attributing more blame to the victim is associated with

attaching less credibility to a child's complaint of incest. Conversely, less victim blame is associated with more credibility regarding an incest claim.

For males, agreement with statements regarding the coercive elements in an incestuous situation is associated with attributing less blame to the victim. This is indicated by the moderate negative correlation between the ATI Power Dynamic Subscale and the JIBS Victim Blame Subscale ($r=-.30$).

The relationships evident in the above correlations are conceptually sound. It is suggested that their occurrence is of significance in that they contribute to the construct validity of both the Jackson Incest Blame Scale and the Attitudes towards Incest Scale. That is, the conceptual sense evident in these inter-relationships helps validate the constructs they represent.

Several correlations occurred between the JIBS total score and ATI subscales. For males and females, more overall blame was associated with less credibility of an incest claim; this is indicated by a moderate negative correlation between the JIBS Total Score and the ATI Credibility Subscale ($r=-.38$).

For females, agreement with statements describing extenuating circumstances surrounding the parental role in incest is associated with attributing more blame overall, evident in the correlation between the Parental Role subscale and JIBS Total Score (r=.50).

Although the relationship between an overall tendency to attribute blame and ATI subscales is not fully evident in the above correlations, there appears to be a trend wherein more overall blame is associated with less informed, more stereotypical views of incest.

Regression Analyses

In order to investigate the relationship between conservative social values, attitudes towards women and attitudes towards incest, a number of regression analyses were conducted.

Subscales identified from the Attitudes towards Incest scale (two subscales for females, three for males), and the five subscales from the Jackson Incest Blame scale, the total ATI score and the total JIBS score were each used as dependent variables in a stepwise regression analysis. Independent variables for each analysis included the

Attitudes towards Women total score, the Value-Orthodoxy Scale total score, age, whether or not respondents had children, and education.

Several regression analyses yielded noteworthy results and these are discussed below.

Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Female Subjects

For female respondents, three variables contributed significantly to the prediction of the ATI Credibility factor: Attitudes towards Women Scale score, age and Value-Orthodoxy Scale score. Relative to the previous three variables, the demographic variables of education and parenthood did not contribute significantly to prediction of the "Credibility" subscale. The stepwise regression for this factor is presented in Table 37.

Table 37. Stepwise Regression with "Credibility" Subscale as Dependent Variable - Female Subjects (n=207)

Independent Variable	Multiple R	Beta	t	Sig. t
Attitudes towards Women	.31	.32	4.06	<0.001
Age	.37	.24	3.43	<0.001
Value-Orthodoxy	.39	-.17	-2.11	<0.05

Evident in the multiple R values, a linear relationship occurs between the independent variables and scores on the "Credibility" subscale. To summarize, more profeminist, older respondents with liberal social values were more accepting of a child's complaint of incest. This relationship supports hypotheses of the study which contended that more profeminist, liberal social attitudes would be predictive of broader and more informed attitudes towards incest.

Attitudes towards Incest Scale - Male Subjects

For male respondents, there was a significant relationship between the Attitudes towards Incest total scale score and two variables: Attitudes towards Women Scale score and Value Orthodoxy Scale score. In the context of these two variables, the demographic variables of age, education and parenthood were not significant predictors. This regression analysis is presented in Table 38.

Table 38. Stepwise Regression with "Attitudes towards Incest" Total Score as Dependent Variable for Male Subjects (n=93)

Independent Variable	Multiple R	Beta	t	Sig. t
Attitudes towards Women	.29	.38	3.82	<0.001
Value-Orthodoxy	.41	-.30	-3.02	<0.005

The linear relationship among these variables suggests that for male respondents more profeminist, liberal social values were predictive of more informed, less stereotypical and stronger child advocate attitudes towards incest.

Results of this regression analysis also offer support for the hypothesis that more profeminist, liberal social values are predictive of broader, more informed views of incest.

Jackson Incest Blame Scale Subscale - Female Subjects

Two variables emerged as significant predictors for the JIBS Societal Blame factor: Attitudes towards Women Scale score and Value-Orthodoxy Scale score. Relative to these two variables, the demographic variables of age,

education and parenthood were not significant predicting variables.

This regression analysis is summarized in Table 39.

Table 39. Stepwise Regression for the JIBS "Societal Blame" Subscale as Dependent Variable for Female Subjects (n=207)

Independent Variable	Multiple R	Beta	t	Sig. t
Attitudes towards Women	.39	-.30	-3.99	<0.001
Value-Orthodoxy	.41	-.16	-2.09	<0.05

More societal blame is attributed with more traditional attitudes towards women and more conservative social values. This finding is consistent with hypotheses of the study which stated that more blame would be attributed with increasingly traditional social values.

Jackson Incest Blame Scale - Male Subjects

Value-Orthodoxy and age emerge as significant predictors of the Societal Blame subscale for male subjects. In the context of these two variables, Attitudes towards Women, parenthood and education were not significant predictors of the Societal Blame subscale.

The stepwise regression analysis for Societal Blame subscale is presented in Table 40.

Table 40. Stepwise Regression for JIBS Societal Blame Subscale as Dependent Variable for Male Subjects (n=93)

Independent Variable	Multiple R	Beta	t	Sig. t
Value-Orthodoxy	.28	-.37	-3.65	<0.001
Age	.41	.31	3.08	<0.005

These results indicate that more societal blame is attributed with increasing conservative social values and with increasing age. This result also supports the hypothesis that more blame would be attributed with increasingly traditional social values.

Additional Investigations on Variables Influencing Incest Attitudes

By blocking on a number of variables, further investigations into incest attitudes were undertaken. For these analyses, separate consideration was given to the AWS and the JIBS.

A summary of variables considered is presented below.

Table 41. Variables Used in Additional Investigations

Variable	Description	
Sex	Female (n=207) Male (n=93)	
Education[a]	Group 1	Some High School or Less (n=56)
	Group 2	High School/Vocational training (n=180)
	Group 3	Bachelor/Graduate degree (n=62)
Age	In Years	
Attitudes towards Women Scale Score	Group 1	Profeminist (n=263)
	Group 2	Traditional (n=36)
Value Orthodoxy Scale Score	Group 1	Conservative (n=210)
	Group 2	Liberal (n=90)

[a] Does not total 300 as two female respondents did not complete the "Education" question.

It must be noted that given the number of analyses completed below, the possibility of Type I error increases accordingly. In order to partially control for this, in most instances, only those tests which yielded significant results at the .01 level of significance are reported. As

well, where applicable, significant findings were subjected to more conservative tests of significance (i.e., Scheffe tests).

Tests on the Jackson Incest Blame Scale

A t-test analysis was carried out to determine if there were any mean differences on the above blocked variables for the JIBS subscales. Two significant findings occurred. That is, as is summarized in Table 42, blocking on the Value-Orthodoxy Scale reveals significant differences between liberal and conservative respondents on the Situational Blame subscale ($t=-4.63$, $df=298$, $p \leq .001$) and Offender Blame subscale ($t=3.44$, $df=298$, $p \leq .001$).

Table 42. Conservative vs. Liberal Groups on JIBS Subscales

	VOS				t	Prob.
Blame Factor	Conservative n=210		Liberal n=90			
	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.		
Situational	14.06	4.53	16.67	4.36	-4.63	0.001
Offender	7.26	1.82	6.50	1.87	3.44	0.001

Conservative respondents attributed significantly more blame to situational variables and less blame to the offender. The reverse is true for liberal respondents: less blame is attributed to situational variables and more blame to the offender. It is suggested that the latter pattern of blame implies that the offender is held more responsible for his incestuous actions than the former pattern of blame. That is, liberal respondents appear to have placed more blame directly on the offender than did conservative respondents.

Tests on the Attitudes towards Incest Scale

Further analyses of the ATI yielded significant findings on a number of blocked variables. Analyses of variance for these variables are presented below.

Attitudes towards Incest: Relationship to Sex and Value-Orthodoxy

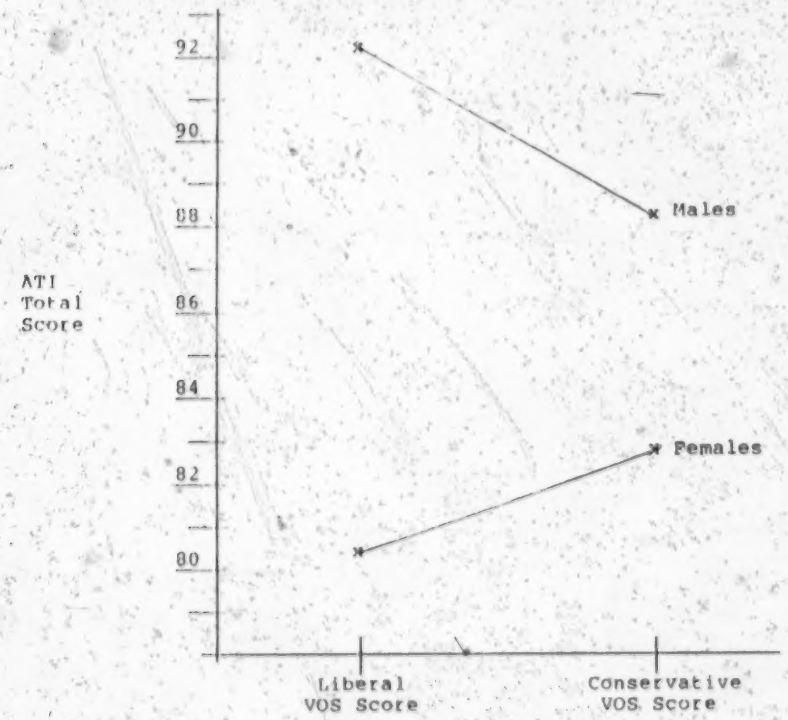
In order to determine if there were significant differences on the ATI scale between sex and conservative/liberal groups (VOS Score), a 2-way ANOVA was conducted (see Appendix L).

Consideration of data summarized in Table 43 shows main effects for sex, wherein males scored significantly higher than did females ($F=28.67$, $df=1$, $p \leq .001$); this indicates males endorsed views which were based more on stereotypes and less on advocacy for the child than did females. A main effect for Value-Orthodoxy (VOS) was not evident.

In order to further examine the significant interaction ($F=5.00$, $df=1$, $p \leq .026$) between sex and VOS, cell means were plotted (see Figure 2). Whereas the trend among female respondents was that higher scores on the ATI were associated with conservative social values, this was reversed among males. That is, highest scores on the ATI were found among the group of liberal males; conservative males scored significantly lower on the ATI.

This interaction appears, in part, to contradict hypotheses. That is, the least informed, stereotype-based attitudes are found among liberal males; this blocked group is incongruent with the other three blocked groups. Among conservative males, conservative females and liberal females, scores on the ATI scale are consistent with hypotheses of the present study: more informed, child-advocate views of incest are associated with being female and/or endorsing more liberal social values.

Figure 2. Interaction Between Sex and Conservative vs. Liberal VOS Scores for the ATI Total Score



The liberal male group poses an interesting exception to these results. It is feasible that highly liberal social values may reflect a general disregard for normative or acceptable social behavior and that this orientation

also appears in attitudes towards incest. This possibility suggests an area for further research.

The most notable finding in this analysis, however, is the main effect of sex: females adopt a more informed, stronger child advocate position regarding incest than do males, regardless of VOS scores.

Table 43. Mean Scores for Attitudes towards Incest Total Score Blocking on Sex and Value-Orthodoxy Scale Score

	ATI Score	Value Orthodoxy Score			
Group	n	$\bar{x}$	Conservative $\bar{x}$	n	Liberal $\bar{x}$	n
Females	207	82.35	82.96	156	80.46	51
Males	93	89.77	88.09	54	92.10	36
VOS Conservative	210	84.28				
VOS Liberal	90	85.51				

Attitudes towards Incest: Relationship to Sex and Education

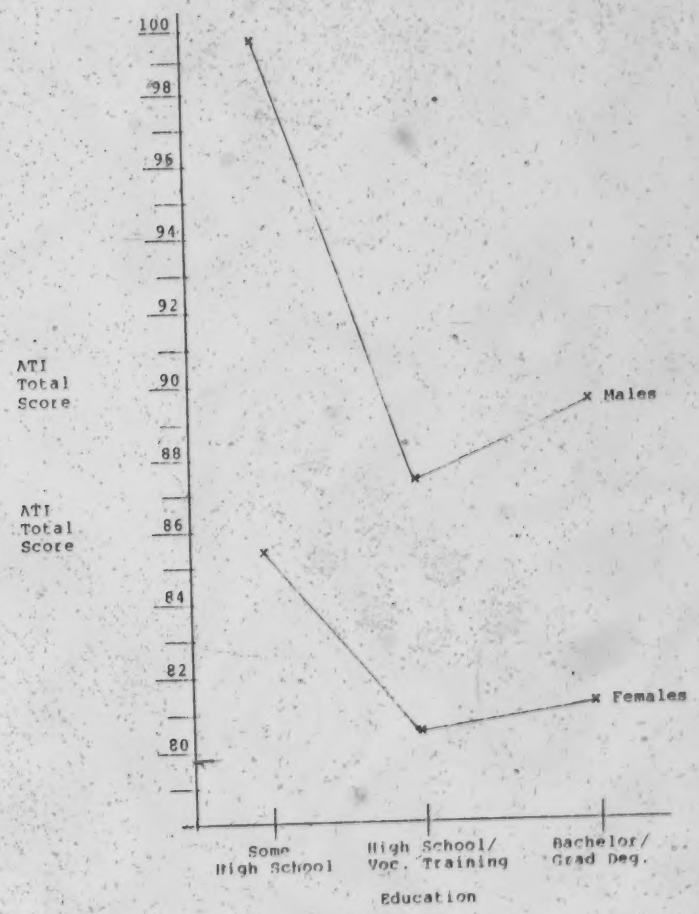
In order to investigate the relationship between sex and education with regard to the ATI, a 2-way ANOVA was

completed (see Appendix L). Main effects for sex reveal that males scored higher on the ATI than did females suggesting a less-informed, less strong child-advocate position ($F=34.99$, $df=1$, $p \leq .001$) (see Table 44). A main effect on education indicates that higher educated groups scored significantly lower on the ATI than the lower educated (high school or less) group ($F=7.23$, $df=2$, $p \leq .001$). That is, more highly educated respondents were more informed, endorsed stereotypes less strongly and adopted a stronger child advocate position than did respondents with less education. Regardless of education, females adopted a more informed, stronger child advocate position than did males..

In order to further investigate the significant interaction ($F=2.96$, $df=2$, $p \leq .054$) between sex and education, cell means (within row comparisons) were subjected to a Scheffe test which was significant at the .05 level.

As is evident in Figure 3 below, the source of significance of the latter finding appears to originate between educational levels for males. Thus, for females the effect of education was not significant and they adopted a strong child advocate position regardless of their educational level.

Figure 3. Interaction Between Sex and Education for the ATI Total Score



However, men at the lowest educational level (some high school or less) demonstrated significantly higher ATI scores than did men at the second educational level (high school graduate). The difference between the lowest educational level and the highest educational level (Bachelor or Graduate Degree) was not significant. These findings would suggest educational level is a significant variable influencing attitudes towards incest among those males having a high school education or less, with less informed views on incest being characteristic of less education.

Table 44. Mean Scores for Attitudes towards Incest Scale Total Scores Blocking on Sex and Education

			Education		
	n	$\bar{x}$	Some High School $\bar{x}$	H.S. Grad. /Voc. Trg. $\bar{x}$	Bachelor/ Grad.Deg. $\bar{x}$
Females	205	82.25	85.22	81.68	81.02
Males	93	89.77	99.53	87.36	89.45
Some High School	56	89.05			
High School /Voc. Trg.	180	83.51			
Bachelor/ Grad. Degree	62	83.74			

Attitudes towards Incest: Relationship to Sex and Attitudes towards Women

A 2-way ANOVA (see Appencix L) was performed to investigate the relationship between sex and Attitudes towards Women with respect to the ATI. Significant main effects occurred for sex ($F=27.96$, $df=1$, $p \leq .001$) and the Attitudes towards Women Scale ($F=16.11$, $df=1$, $p \leq .001$) (see Table 45). The implication of the main effect for sex is, of course, the same as was noted before. That is, on the Attitudes towards Women Scale, respondents adopting traditional attitudes scored significantly higher on the ATI than respondents adopting a profeminist stance. This supports hypotheses that attitudes towards women are directly related to attitudes towards incest: sexist views of women coincide with endorsement of perceptions of incest based on stereotypes and less advocacy for the child.

Lack of a significant interaction reflects the parallel relationship between males and females on attitudes towards women: profeminist scores are descriptive of low ATI scores. Regardless of the AWS score, however, females scored significantly lower on the ATI than did males.

Table 45. Mean Scores for ATI Total Scores Blocking on Sex and Attitudes towards Women Scale Score

			Profeminist		Traditional	
	n	$\bar{x}$	$\bar{x}$	n	$\bar{x}$	n
Females	206	82.32	81.49	184	89.27	22
Males	93	89.77	88.63	79	96.21	14
Profeminist	263	83.64				
Traditional	36	89.77				

Comparison of the Effects of Isolated Incident(s) vs. Extended Sexual Abuse

As discussed previously, the long term effects of childhood sexual abuse is an area of growing clinical interest (e.g., Courtois, 1988). In view of this, analyses were undertaken to investigate the effects of extent of sexual abuse on social attitudes and attitudes towards incest. That is, subjects were blocked according to type of victimization (nonvictims, isolated incident(s), extended sexual abuse) and analyses of variance conducted for each of the scales and subscales of the questionnaire. Because of the limited number of male victims (n=6), these

analyses were completed only for female victims. Significant differences occurred on three scales of the questionnaire - the Credibility subscale, the Situational Blame subscale and JIBS Total Score. Details of these ANOVAs are presented in Appendix L and key findings are summarized in Table 46.

Table 46. Comparison of Mean Scores for Extent of Sexual Abuse

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3			
	Nonvictims n=162	Isolated Incident(s) n=36	Extended Abuse n=9	F df=206	Prob.	Scheffe $p \leq .05$
Credibility Subscale						
$\bar{x}$	12.91	11.19	15.56	3.98	.020	G2 ≠ G3
s.d.	4.58	3.90	5.50			
Situational Blame Subscale						
$\bar{x}$	16.97	17.25	12.00	6.61	.002	G1 ≠ G3
s.d.	4.07	4.27	2.87			G2 ≠ G3
JIBS Total Score						
$\bar{x}$	69.96	69.53	59.00	6.27	.002	G1 ≠ G3
s.d.	9.10	8.41	10.38			G2 ≠ G3

In order to provide a more conservative test, as well as to investigate the direction of significant differences, a Scheffe test on the cell means was completed for each of the above findings.

Consideration of group means on the Credibility subscale reveals that victims of extended sexual abuse adopt the strongest child advocate position followed by nonvictims and victims of isolated incident(s) respectively. A Scheffe test on the cell means indicates that the isolated incident group is significantly different from the extended abuse group ($p \leq .05$).

On the Situational Blame subscale, it is evident from group means that the extended abuse group blamed situational variables most, followed by nonvictims and isolated incident victims respectively. A Scheffe test on the cell means, significant at the .05 level, reveals that the extended sexual abuse group is significantly different from both the nonvictim and isolated incident groups.

Examination of group means on the JIBS Total Score reveals findings which parallel the above. In terms of overall blame, extended abuse victims attributed more blame than do victims of isolated abuse and nonvictims. A Scheffe test on the cell means, significant at the .05

level, demonstrates that the extended abuse group differed significantly from the nonvictims and also from the isolated incident(s) group.

Distinguishing the extent of past sexual abuse among victims thus appears to be an important consideration. In the present study, making this distinction among victims reveals attitudinal differences which were otherwise obscured when victims were treated as one group.

While the attitudinal differences among extended vs. isolated incident abuse victims are not in themselves surprising (i.e., extended abuse victims blamed more and endorsed stronger child advocate views), the fact that, as a group extended abuse victims are unique, implicitly supports clinical views which contend that extended child sexual abuse exerts a long term impact on aspects of adult adjustment (e.g., Herman et.al., 1986).

Summary of Findings and Implications for Hypotheses

Presented below is a summary of findings as they pertain to hypotheses of the study. In the interest of clarity, each hypothesis is presented and addressed separately.

Hypothesis 1.

Orthodox social values (VOS scores) will show a direct relationship to attitudes towards incest (JIBS and ATI scale). That is, more traditional social values will be associated with greater blame in general and endorsement of narrow, uninformed attitudes towards incest.

The Relationship Between the Value-Orthodoxy Scale and the Attitudes towards Incest Scale

Pertinent findings are summarized by the following points.

Value-Orthodoxy score is a predictor of the ATI total score for males: more conservative social values are associated with less informed, more stereotypical views of incest.

Value-Orthodoxy score is a predictor of the ATI Credibility subscale for females: more liberal social values are associated with more acceptance and credibility towards a child's account of incest.

Blocking on Value-Orthodoxy scores (conservative vs. liberal) reveals that the more conservative group scored significantly higher than the liberal group on the ATI.

That is, the conservative group adopted a less informed view on incest, a weaker child advocate position and a greater tendency to endorse stereotypes of incest. An exception was noted by the interaction wherein a small group of males endorsing liberal social values also endorsed uninformed, stereotypical views of incest.

In general, the above findings offer clear support for Hypothesis 1 of this investigation.

The Relationship Between the Value-Orthodoxy Scale and the Jackson Incest Blame Scale

These findings are summarized as follows:

A negative correlation occurred between VOS scores and the Societal Blame subscale indicating that high VOS scores are associated with low Societal subscale scores. That is, more conservative social values are associated with more blame for incest being attributed to societal factors.

Similarly, VOS scores were a significant predictor of Societal subscale scores for both males and females, in the same pattern described above.

By blocking on VOS scores (conservative vs. liberal) significant differences occurred between these two blocked groups for both the Situational subscale scores and the

Offender subscale scores. That is, the liberal group blamed the offender more than the conservative group whereas the conservative group blamed situational variables more than the liberal group.

These findings offer some support for Hypothesis 1. The relationship between attribution of blame for incest and social values appears to be complex. On the basis of these findings it is suggested that conservative social values are associated with attributing more blame for incest to extenuating circumstances (i.e., situational variables) whereas liberal social values are linked to attributing blame for incest to the offender.

Hypothesis 2

Traditional attitudes towards women (AWS scores) will show a direct relationship to attitudes towards incest (ATI scores and JIBS). More specifically, endorsement of traditional views of women will be associated with uninformed, stereotypical attitudes towards incest and with more attribution of blame in general, with more blame being attributed to the victim.

The Relationship Between the Attitudes towards Women Scale and the Attitudes towards Incest Scale

Key points are summarized below:

A moderate correlation occurred between the AWS and the ATI wherein profeminist attitudes towards women were associated with more informed, less stereotypical attitudes towards incest.

Similarly, the AWS score was a predictor of the ATI total score, in the same manner as noted above.

Blocking on the AWS score (traditional group vs. profeminist group) revealed significant group differences for the ATI scale: the profeminist group scored significantly lower on the ATI than the traditional group, indicating more informed, less stereotypical and stronger child advocate views of incest among the profeminist group.

These findings consistently support Hypothesis 2 of the present study.

The Relationship Between the Attitudes towards Women Scale and the Jackson Incest Blame Scale

Significant findings are noted as follows:

There is a low negative correlation between the AWS and JIBS total score. This suggests that traditional views of women are associated with greater attribution of blame overall.

A similar relationship occurred for the JIBS subscales of Victim and Societal blame with the AWS. That is, more traditional views of women were associated with more blame being placed on the victim and on societal variables.

These findings offer some support for Hypothesis 2 of the present study.

Hypothesis 3

Males and females will differ in their attitudes towards father-daughter incest, particularly in their attribution of blame. It is further hypothesized that males will blame the victim more than will females.

The Relationship Between Sex and the Attitudes Towards Incest Scale

Consistent gender differences were evident as described below:

In terms of ATI total score, females scored significantly lower than males, indicating that females endorsed less stereotypical, more informed and stronger child advocate views on incest than did males. This finding occurred across all analyses, even when males and females were blocked on a number of variables, including education, VOS scores and AWS scores.

On the Credibility subscale of the ATI, females scored significantly higher than males, demonstrating greater credibility and acceptance towards a child's complaint of incest.

Different subscales emerged from factor analyses of the ATI scale for males and females. For females, a Credibility and Parental Role subscale was identified, for males Credibility, Victimization and Power Dynamic subscales occurred. That different subscales emerged for each sex supports the occurrence of gender differences.

These findings strongly support Hypothesis 3 of the study.

The Relationship Between Sex and the Jackson Incest Blame Scale

Gender differences occurred as follows:

Although the rank order for degree of blame on the five subscales of the JIBS was the same for males and females (Offender Mental Status, Offender, Societal, Situational and Victim, respectively) males blamed the victim significantly more than did females. As well, males also attributed significantly more blame to the situational subscale than did females.

These findings demonstrate sex differences for attribution of blame in incest and support Hypothesis 3 of the present study.

Hypothesis 4

Attitudes towards women (AWS scale) will be more strongly related to attitudes towards incest (ATI scale and JIBS) than will social values (VOS).

Support for this hypothesis is determined by considering overall findings of the present study. Both the AWS scale and the VOS were significant in their relationship to the ATI and the JIBS. Thus, hypothesis 4

of the present study was not supported which suggests that sexist attitudes and conservative social values are equally important in understanding attitudes towards incest.

Other Significant Findings

Several other findings of the present study, while not directly relevant to the hypotheses, are pertinent in terms of their implications for the ATI Scale, JIBS and/or area of child sexual abuse.

Statistical analyses of the Attitudes towards Incest Scale resulted in findings which support its validity and potential for further development. The emergence of a total score as well as subscales which are conceptually sound, and also the correlations of ATI subscale scores with subscales of the Jackson Incest Blame scale are all indices of construct validity. Internal consistency measures, while somewhat low, are sufficiently high to warrant future efforts to improve upon them.

Research findings on the Jackson Incest Blame Scale replicate much of the previous work by Jackson and Ferguson (1983). The similarity of findings between the two studies

reinforces the validity of the JIBS as an instrument for measuring attribution of blame in incest. It is noted, however, that findings from the "Offender" subscale in the original work (Jackson & Ferguson, 1983) were not replicated in the present study, which identified two offender related subscales. This discrepancy suggests a need for more research into attribution of blame toward the incest offender.

The incidence of child sexual abuse documented in the present study is consistent with other retrospective studies, particularly in demonstrating its prevalence. Consideration of victims' attitudes towards incest reveals that they are not substantially different from nonvictims' attitudes. Victims did, however, adopt a stronger child advocate position and supported more intervention by outside agencies.

Public opinion regarding case management issues indicates that the public tended to view the offender as culpable and advocated a combination of imprisonment and treatment as a court outcome. The vast majority of respondents indicated they would report the incest case described in the questionnaire which suggests a willingness to intervene should they encounter a real incident.

Consideration of whether childhood sexual abuse was extended for a long period of time, or involved isolated incident(s) reveals significant differences which were not evident when victims were treated as one group. Whereas victims of isolated incident(s) were similar to nonvictims on attitudes towards incest, victims of extended abuse differed significantly on several measures. That is, the latter group attributed more blame to situational variables, blamed more in general, and endorsed a stronger child advocate position on the "Credibility" subscale.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the present study, a survey of a randomly selected sample of the general public investigated the relationship between gender, social values (attitudes towards women and value-orthodoxy) and attitudes towards father-daughter incest; incidence data regarding childhood sexual abuse and public opinion regarding case management issues were also documented. On a practical level, the present study was significant because it provides a profile of the public in terms of incidence of sexual abuse, opinions on issues regarding incest (e.g., treatment vs. imprisonment of the offender) and information on attitudes towards father-daughter incest. From a theoretical basis, the present study was relevant because it represents an empirical effort which substantiates many of the feminist perspectives on father-daughter incest.

Findings of the present study generally supported the hypotheses under investigation: attitudes towards father-daughter incest are directly related to gender, social values and attitudes towards women. That is, more

conservative social values and/or traditional views of women are associated with more stereotypical, less informed and weaker child advocate attitudes towards incest, and these attitudes are more apparent among males than females.

Among the variables investigated as being related to attitudes towards incest, gender appears to be the most significant. That is, consistent sex differences occurred throughout almost all aspects of the investigation. Relative to females, males tended to adopt less informed, weaker child advocate attitudes towards incest.

Gender differences regarding attribution of blame for incest are more complex but still evident. Although the rank order of degree of blame was the same for males and females (Offender blamed most followed by Offender Mental Status, Societal, Situational and Victim, respectively), males blamed the victim and situational variables significantly more than females.

The above findings must be qualified, however, with the observations that the magnitude of the gender differences, while significant, are relatively small and that males still tended to endorse child advocate views and attribute most blame to the offender and least blame to the victim. It is of note, however, that males consistently

endorsed weaker viewpoints than females on attitudes towards incest. This supports feminist perspectives which hold that sexism prevails in our society and that it influences the attitudes towards father-daughter incest and other forms of child sexual abuse.

Sex differences aside, there was also evidence for the influence of social values and attitudes towards women on attitudes towards incest. Thus, for both genders, attitudes towards women and social values emerged as significant correlates of various measures of attitudes towards incest. Included among the latter was attribution of societal blame, credibility towards a child's complaint of incest and the extent to which an informed, child-advocate view of incest was adopted. In each instance, the trend of the relationship was the same: child-advocate views and less blame were associated with liberal social values and profeminist attitudes towards women. By contrast, more blame, less credibility and less support for the child were associated with conservative social values.

The source of gender differences regarding attitudes towards incest remains open to speculation. Females' generally more empathic attitude towards the child victim

of incest may reflect the societal expectation of their nurturant role regarding children. As well, females may be more empathic towards victims of sexual abuse generally, to the extent that being female in itself implies being a potential target for sexual assault.

Despite gender differences, it must be noted that males, while less empathic, still endorsed attitudes towards incest which tended to be informed and supportive towards the victim. Emergence of subscale themes which centre on power dynamics and victimization of the child in an incest situation indicate the relevance of these variables to male respondents.

Other findings of interest in the present study highlight the current reality of child sexual abuse. Incidence data from the present study replicates that of earlier investigations and underscores the alarming and consistent prevalence of sexual abuse of children.

It is noted that, because respondents were at least 18 years of age, these data reflects abuse which occurred, in all likelihood, at least a decade ago, before the topic of child sexual abuse was commonplace in the media. Thus, the apparent sophistication of the public in terms of empathy towards an incest victim and case management decisions may

not yet have had the opportunity to affect the incidence of child sexual abuse. Ideally, child sexual abuse may decline as the public continues to become more informed and concerned.

Consideration of respondents who were victims of childhood sexual abuse reveals that their attitudes towards incest and their opinions on case management issues are very similar to those of nonvictims. However, quite likely as a consequence of their abuse, victims endorsed stronger child advocate views on incest as well as supporting stronger interventions for reported cases. There was also some evidence for attitudinal differences between victims of isolated incident(s) of sexual abuse compared to victims of extended abuse, wherein the latter blamed more generally, and adopted stronger child advocate views.

Implications of Findings and Recommendations for Further Research

Findings of the present study lend empirical support to feminist perspectives of father-daughter incest. The validity of the other major clinical viewpoints which were discussed, psychodynamic and systemic, was not a research

focus in the present study. This is because, unlike the feminist perspectives of father-daughter incest, the psychodynamic and systemic schools of thought do not conceptualize the occurrence of father-daughter incest within the broader social context; it is the latter factor's connection to attitudinal variables which made feminist perspectives of father-daughter incest amenable and relevant to a public survey.

Considering the systemic and psychodynamic viewpoints of father-daughter incest in light of findings from the present study encourages the hypothesis that these viewpoints were grounded in, and shaped by, the predominant social milieu. That is, the degree to which sexist themes are manifested in psychodynamic and systemic interpretations of father-daughter incest is perhaps reflective of the social environment in which they were conceived.

To the degree that findings from the present study can be validly applied to the general population, two key implications are generated regarding our society.

First, gender differences in attitudes towards father-daughter incest documented in the present study

indicate that, despite pressure for social change over the past two decades, traditional sex roles of men and women persist, at least in part. That is, in the present study, women endorsed stronger child advocate views than did men, suggestive of a more nurturant, empathic orientation; such an orientation is traditionally associated with women's roles. Conversely, while men did consistently endorse child advocate views, the question remains as to why their endorsement was weaker than that of women. The most logical assumption is that sexist attitudes persist. This assumption is fortified by the finding that men attributed more blame to the victim of father-daughter incest than did women.

The second major implication pertains to the finding that conservative social values were linked to attitudes towards father-daughter incest. That is, weaker child advocate views, based more upon stereotypical views of father-daughter incest were associated with orthodox social values. It is reasonable to postulate, then, that professions typified by social conformity may well be associated with less supportive attitudes towards victims of father-daughter incest or other forms of child sexual abuse. Examples of two such professions are police

officers and judges. Obviously, this cannot be more than speculation at this point but this possibility presents serious implications regarding the detection, judicial process and treatment of cases of father-daughter incest and other forms of child sexual abuse.

Outlined below are recommendations for further research. The first two recommendations pertain to technical improvements which could be made upon the present study. The remaining seven suggestions relate to theoretical questions posed by findings of the present study.

1. In order to avoid obtaining unequal sample sizes for males and females, sampling methods could be improved upon. Possibilities include placing phone calls at times of day which increase the likelihood of reaching male respondents and/or requesting specifically to speak with the male or female head of household.

2. In order to allow for "fake good" response sets among respondents, it would be of interest to include a social desirability scale within the questionnaire.

3. Additional research and development of the subscales identified in the Attitudes towards Incest scale. Such efforts might build upon the number of items

within each subscale as well as attempt to improve internal consistency coefficients.

4. Further research into the Offender and Offender Mental Status subscales identified in the present study from factor analyses of the Jackson Incest Blame Scale. Expansion of each subscale and improvement upon internal consistency coefficients would be of interest.

5. Investigation of independent variables which would be additional and/or better predictors of attitudes towards incest. The present study included attitudes towards women, liberal vs. conservative social values and a number of demographic variables (e.g., age, education). Other possibilities include religiosity and personality variables such as nurturance or sociopathy.

6. Further exploration of gender differences regarding attitudes towards incest. It would be of interest to consider gender differences as they pertain to cases of sexual abuse involving a male vs. female child and a male vs. female offender in a particular relationship to the child (e.g., family friend vs. parent vs. cousin).

7. Research into attitudes towards father-daughter incest among various professionals particularly those involved with detection, judicial process and treatment of

cases of father-daughter incest and other forms of child sexual abuse (e.g., social workers, psychologists, police officers, defense lawyers, prosecutors and judges).

8. More detailed information on incidence data, including duration, type of sexual contact, coercive or persuasive tactics used by the offender and their relationship to the offender (e.g., father vs. uncle).

9. Attitudinal differences between victims of isolated vs. extended childhood sexual abuse suggest that considering additional features of the abuse and their relationship to other attitudinal or personality variables is an area warranting further research.

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Footnotes

[1]The final sample size was 495, rather than 500, due to an error in addition.

[2]Occupations were classified primarily using the Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations (1989). Exceptions included the categories Homemaker, Retired, Student and Unemployed which were created by the author for use in the present study.

APPENDIX A

GUIDELINES FOR TELEPHONE INTERVIEW

1. Introduction
   - (Name, position, U of A).
   - Randomly selected from phone book.
2. Purpose of Call
   - Looking for volunteers for a research survey.
   - Mail-out questionnaire, answer anonymously.
   - Opinions and viewpoints on several important social issues:
   - including child sexual abuse - father-daughter incest - questions describe the issue of father-daughter incest quite directly.
   - willing to participate?
3. Closure
   - No? end call.
   - Yes/Maybe:
     - questionnaire mailed today.
     - prepaid return envelope and contact phone number for questions/concerns.
     - Do not put name on.
     - Any other questions?
     - Confirm mailing address.

APPENDIX B

COVER LETTER

Dear Sir or Madam:

Thank you very much for your interest in this research. We are conducting this survey to determine current social views on several issues, particularly child sexual abuse (father-daughter incest).

Instructions for the questionnaire are attached to the front page. We have also included a prepaid return envelope for your convenience. Please note that you do not put your name on any part of the questionnaire. Responses to the questionnaire will, therefore, be anonymous. Because we are interested in the opinions of the general public, not in individual viewpoints, all the information gathered will be analyzed and reported in grouped forms. No one but the researchers will see the completed questionnaires.

Participation in the survey is entirely voluntary. If you have any questions about the study or the questionnaire, please leave your first name and telephone number for Barbara McKenzie at _____ and your call will be returned.

Thank you again for your assistance with this study.

Yours truly,

Barbara McKenzie
Doctoral Candidate
University of Alberta

Peter Calder
Professor
University of Alberta

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

CURRENT ATTITUDES SURVEY

This questionnaire is designed to examine people's attitudes towards several current issues, including incest. This is a strictly confidential survey, so your name is not necessary. However, so that we can get as much information as possible, please answer the questions below.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. What is your age in years?

   _____

2. Sex

   1 Female
   2 Male

3. Marital Status

   1 Single
   2 Married/Common-law
   3 Separated/Divorced
   4 Widowed

4. Do you have children?

   1 Yes
   2 No

5. What is your current occupation?

   _____

   _____

6. What is your highest level of education?

1 Some high school or less
2 High school graduate
3 Technical/Vocational training
4 Bachelor's degree
5 Graduate or professional degree

Below you will find a series of statements. Please read each statement and indicate your agreement or disagreement by circling the appropriate number beside each statement. Circle 1 if you strongly agree (SA) with the statement, circle 2 if you mildly agree (MA) with the statement, circle 3 if you neither agree nor disagree (U) with the statement, circle 4 if you mildly disagree (MD) with the statement, and circle 5 if you strongly disagree (SD) with the statement.

Please answer every statement and circle only one answer for each statement.

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

	SA	MA	U	MD	SD
7. A person should be allowed to take his/her own life if the circumstances justify it.	1	2	3	4	5

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

		SA	MA	U	MD	SD
8.	Some of the current fashions for women are too indecent to be worn in public.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	I often reject the beliefs that older people expect me to have.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I feel that in order for women to be truly fulfilled, it is necessary for them to have children.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	My values might seem a little old-fashioned by modern standards.	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	People should be allowed to take certain drugs if they enjoy doing so and harm no one else.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as dishes and doing the laundry.	1	2	3	4	5
15.	Cheating and lying are always wrong, no matter what the situation.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	The discoveries of science may someday show that many of our most cherished beliefs are wrong.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	A woman who has young children should not work outside the home if at all possible.	1	2	3	4	5

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

	SA	MA	U	MD	SD
18. Our censorship laws have proven to be for our own good.	1	2	3	4	5
19. People who will never get well should have the choice of being put to death painlessly.	1	2	3	4	5
20. If I had to choose, I would prefer to live my life according to traditional values rather than the principles of science.	1	2	3	4	5
21. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Married people who no longer love each other should be given a divorce.	1	2	3	4	5
23. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Young people would have fewer problems if they listened to their parents more.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.	1	2	3	4	5
26. People should be able to refuse to fight for their country without the fear of punishment.	1	2	3	4	5

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

	SA	MA	U	MD	SD
27. Women who want a full-time career should not plan to raise children.	1	2	3	4	5
28. People today don't have enough respect for authority.	1	2	3	4	5
29. Women should assume their rightful place in business and professions along with men.	1	2	3	4	5
30. The legal age of drinking should be lowered.	1	2	3	4	5
31. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or have quite the same freedom of action as a man.	1	2	3	4	5
32. No one has the right to take his/her own life.	1	2	3	4	5
33. I think that religious institutions should pay taxes on their property just like everyone else.	1	2	3	4	5
34. A mother's main task is to provide for the emotional well-being of her husband and children.	1	2	3	4	5
35. It is wrong to spend money on things you can't afford.	1	2	3	4	5

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

		SA	MA	U	MD	SD
36.	It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.	1	2	3	4	5
37.	The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.	1	2	3	4	5
38.	People respect tradition more than necessary.	1	2	3	4	5
39.	Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.	1	2	3	4	5
40.	Many people are too hasty in trying to change our laws.	1	2	3	4	5
41.	A husband has the right to expect his wife to bear children.	1	2	3	4	5

The remaining questions ask your opinions about incest. Unless stated otherwise, for the purposes of this survey, the term "incest" refers to any form of sexual contact between father and daughter or stepfather and stepdaughter which would generally be viewed as socially unacceptable (e.g., fondling of genitals, deep kissing, sexual intercourse).

Please indicate your genuine feelings. Please answer every statement and circle only one answer for each statement.

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

		SA	MA	U	MD	SD
42.	An incestuous relationship can easily disrupt the child's development of behavior appropriate for her age.	1	2	3	4	5
43.	Children often feel guilty because they got some pleasure from the relationship.	1	2	3	4	5
44.	Girls who have been in incestuous situations often have a poor image of themselves.	1	2	3	4	5
45.	The father in an incest situation often comes from a very rigid, strict upbringing.	1	2	3	4	5

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

		SA	MA	U	MD	SD
46.	If I knew of an incestuous situation, I would have difficulty dealing with it.	1	2	3	4	5
47.	Incestuous fathers are usually below normal in intelligence.	1	2	3	4	5
48.	In an incestuous situation the mother gives up the maternal role in the family to her daughter.	1	2	3	4	5
49.	In cases of father-daughter incest, the father should be removed from the home.	1	2	3	4	5
50.	Children are more vulnerable to an incestuous situation when they lack closeness and nonsexual affection from their parents.	1	2	3	4	5
51.	A father who forces his children into a sexual relationship should be severely punished.	1	2	3	4	5
52.	A father usually has a sexual relationship with one child only.	1	2	3	4	5
53.	An incestuous father often feels it is his right as a parent to have sexual contact with his daughter.	1	2	3	4	5

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

		SA	MA	U	MD	SD
54.	Sexually suggestive and seductive behavior between a father and an adolescent daughter could be an incestuous situation.	1	2	3	4	5
55.	Thinking about an incestuous act is very disturbing to me.	1	2	3	4	5
56.	Incest affects thousands of children in Canada each year.	1	2	3	4	5
57.	Incestuous fathers are often alcohol abusers.	1	2	3	4	5
58.	A history of an incestuous relationship with her father given by an adult woman frequently is based on childhood fantasy and feelings of attraction towards her father.	1	2	3	4	5
59.	An incest claim by a child against a step-parent is frequently based on an attempt to get the step-parent out of the home.	1	2	3	4	5
60.	Incest is against the law.	1	2	3	4	5
61.	The female child in an incest situation typically is seductive and sexually advanced for her age.	1	2	3	4	5
62.	When a father turns to his daughter for sex, it is often because his wife is not sexually available.	1	2	3	4	5

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

		SA	MA	U	MD	SD
63.	Too often a report of incest is dismissed by a professional as being a fantasy.	1	2	3	4	5
64.	It should not be considered incest if a grandparent and grandchild have a sexual relationship.	1	2	3	4	5
65.	One of the worst things about incest is that the parents are not serving a protective, nurturant role.	1	2	3	4	5
66.	Incest is a form of child abuse.	1	2	3	4	5
67.	A daughter will often cooperate with her father's sexual demands to protect her sisters and brothers.	1	2	3	4	5
68.	An incestuous situation could involve a father showing his genitals to the child.	1	2	3	4	5
69.	In an incestuous family, the father rarely has many friends or social contacts outside the home.	1	2	3	4	5
70.	In dealing with an incestuous family, it would be best to place the child in a foster home.	1	2	3	4	5
71.	I would not consider teenage siblings who were fondling each other as incest.	1	2	3	4	5

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

		SA	MA	U	MD	SD
72.	Incestuous behaviors include only acts of genital, anal and oral intercourse.	1	2	3	4	5
73.	Incestuous claims from an adolescent daughter are often based upon her guilt over her seductive behavior towards her father.	1	2	3	4	5
74.	It is best to wait until an incest claim is proven before accepting it as being true.	1	2	3	4	5
75.	Children are vulnerable to the sexual demands of their father.	1	2	3	4	5
76.	A child who has experienced incest will often show delinquent behaviors in adolescence.	1	2	3	4	5
77.	Incest claims from very young children are often confused fantasies based on attraction to their father.	1	2	3	4	5
78.	Incest is more likely to occur in families of low incomes.	1	2	3	4	5
79.	A sexual relationship between a step-parent and step-child is not incestuous.	1	2	3	4	5
80.	Misbehavior and/or the development of physical ailments are often the only way that a child in an incestuous situation can get attention and help from others outside the home.	1	2	3	4	5

Questions 81 - 100 deal with a number of possible causes and consequences of incest. Please circle the number which corresponds most closely to your opinion.

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

	SA	MA	U	MD	SD
81. There is a strong connection between the current morality and the crime of incest.	1	2	3	4	5
82. The amount of sex and violence in the media today strongly influences the father to commit incest.	1	2	3	4	5
83. When incest occurs it is the father's fault.	1	2	3	4	5
84. There is a strong relationship between people being regarded as sex objects by our society and the crime of incest.	1	2	3	4	5
85. The prevalence of incest is directly related to our societal values.	1	2	3	4	5
86. A father who commits incest should be locked up for the act.	1	2	3	4	5

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

		SA	MA	U	MD	SD
87.	Fathers who commit incest are "mentally ill" or psychologically disturbed.	1	2	3	4	5
88.	Incest can be mainly attributed to peculiarities in the father's personality.	1	2	3	4	5
89.	It is the daughter who entices the father to commit incest.	1	2	3	4	5
90.	Incest is a product of a sexually-unhealthy society.	1	2	3	4	5
91.	Daughters provoke the act of incest by using bad judgement, acting seductively, etc.	1	2	3	4	5
92.	Daughters are victims of incest because they deserve it.	1	2	3	4	5
93.	Incest can be avoided by the daughter.	1	2	3	4	5
94.	Incest is more likely to occur in broken homes.	1	2	3	4	5
95.	Alcohol and drugs are significant factors in the occurrence of incest.	1	2	3	4	5
96.	Incest is more likely to occur in families with poor interpersonal relationships.	1	2	3	4	5

(SA) Strongly Agree 1	(MA) Mildly Agree 2	(U) Undecided 3	(MD) Mildly Disagree 4	(SD) Strongly Disagree 5

	SA	MA	U	MD	SD
97. There is a certain kind of girl who becomes a victim of incest.	1	2	3	4	5
98. Incest is more likely to occur in slum or "bad" areas.	1	2	3	4	5
99. Fathers are driven to incest by internal factors.	1	2	3	4	5
100. Incest is more likely to occur in families that are socially isolated from the community.	1	2	3	4	5

Below is an example of a complaint of incest. Please read through the example and proceed to the next page.

Authorities were called to investigate a complaint of sexual abuse after a ten year old girl confided to her teacher that her father was "doing sex things" to her. During the course of the investigation, the girl's statements indicated that her father had been molesting her over a two year period. According to her statements, the sexual contact had begun by the father fondling his daughter. This had progressed to him having her masturbate him and, in recent months, to oral sex. The daughter stated she had been afraid to tell anyone since her father had told her that her mother would leave and they would both go to jail.

The father, age 40, is described by others as a "nice guy" and a successful professional. When confronted with his daughter's statements, he adamantly and consistently denied they were true. He stated he had no idea where his daughter got "her ideas" but added that she had always seemed unusually aware of and interested in sex. In addition, he stated that he believed her accusations were a way of "getting back" at him because of recent arguments with his daughter over her breaking household

rules, particularly staying out late with neighborhood boys. The father continued to deny his daughter's allegations throughout the investigation and court proceedings.

If you were faced with an incest case like that described on page 12, what is your preferred course of action for the following?

101. In terms of court involvement:

1 I would prefer the case be taken to court.
2 I would not want the case taken to court.

102. If found guilty in terms of the outcome of the court:

1 I would want a term of imprisonment for the father.
2 I would want court-ordered treatment for the father.
3 I would want a term of imprisonment in combination with court-ordered treatment for the father.
4 I would want a suspended sentence or term of probation for the father.

103. In terms of social service agency involvement in the case:

1 I would want the father removed from the home during the investigation and legal involvement.
2 I would want the daughter removed from the home during the investigation and legal involvement.
3 I would want neither father nor daughter removed from the home during the investigation and legal involvement.
4 I would want both father and daughter separately removed from the home during the investigation and legal involvement.

104. In terms of reporting, if you were the first person to be aware of a case like that described on page 14:

1 I would not report the case.
2 I would report the case to social services.
3 I would report the case to the police.
4 I would report the case to both the police and social services.

105. Have you ever been a victim of incest or child sexual abuse?

1 No.
2 Yes, it was (an) isolated incident(s).
3 Yes, it was continued over an extended period of time.

106. If yes above, what was the offender's relationship to you?

01 Father
02 Stepfather
03 Uncle
04 Grandfather
05 Brother
06 Male cousin
07 Family friend
08 Acquaintance
09 Stranger
10 Other

_____
_____

Any comments you have regarding this questionnaire would be appreciated.

Please mail your completed questionnaire as soon as possible in the prepaid return envelope.

Thank you again for your assistance in this study.

APPENDIX D

SUMMARY OF TELEPHONE CALLS

	n	%
Total # Telephone Calls	1821	-
# No Contact	820	45
# Businesses	233	13
# Residences Contacted	768	42

APPENDIX E

SUMMARY OF INVALID QUESTIONNAIRES

	Late Arrival		Incomplete	
	n	%	n	%
Female	3	<1	22	9.5
Male	6	1.8	4	3.8
Total	9	2.9	26	7.7

APPENDIX F

AGE OF RESPONDENTS

	n	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	Min.	Max.
Female	207	38.6	15.6	18.0	82.0
Male	93	35.7	12.1	18.0	71.0
Total	300	37.7	14.6	18.0	82.0

APPENDIX G

DISTRIBUTION OF AGE CATEGORIES

OF RESPONDENTS (PER CENT)

Age Category	Female	Male	Total
18 - 24	17.4	16.1	17.0
25 - 34	40.9	30.9	34.0
35 - 44	20.8	22.6	21.3
45 - 54	12.1	10.7	11.7
55 - 64	6.5	9.1	8.3
65 +	3.2	9.7	7.7

APPENDIX H

MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Single	45	48.4	39	18.8	84	28.0
Married/CL	39	41.9	130	62.8	169	56.3
Div./Sep.	9	9.7	25	12.1	34	11.3
Widow	-	-	13	6.3	13	4.3

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY OF RESPONDENTS HAVING CHILDREN

	Yes		No	
	n	%	n	%
Female	152	73.4	55	26.6
Male	45	48.4	48	51.6
Total	197	65.3	103	34.3

APPENDIX J

EDUCATION LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS

	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
High School	15	16.1	43	20.8	58	19.3
High School Grad	22	34.3	71	23.7	93	31.0
Tech./Voc.	36	24.6	51	38.7	87	29.0
Bachelor Degree	8	8.6	28	13.5	36	12.0
Grad/Prof. Degree	12	12.9	14	6.0	26	8.7

APPENDIX K

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF RESPONDENTS

Total			Female			Male		
	n	%		n	%		n	%
Home-maker	56	18.7	Home-maker	56	18.7	Service Occup.	11	11.8
Clerical	46	15.4	Clerical	42	20.3	Student	10	10.9
Service	31	10.4	Service	20	9.7	Admin.	8	8.7
Student	23	7.7	Medical	19	9.2	Sales	8	8.7
Medical	23	7.7	Retired	13	6.3	Engineering	7	7.6
Admin.	19	6.4	Student	13	6.3	Retired	5	5.4
Retired	18	6.0	Teaching	13	6.3	Unemployed	5	5.4
Sales	17	5.7	Admin.	11	5.3	Assembly/ Repair	5	5.4
Teaching	16	5.4	Sales	9	4.3	Transp. Equip Operator	5	5.4
Natural Sciences	9	3.0	Unemployed	2	1.0	Unclassified	5	5.4
Unemployed	17	2.3	Natural Sciences	2	1.0	Medical/ Health	4	4.3
Assembly Repair	6	2.0	Social Sciences	2	1.0	Clerical	4	4.3
Unclassif.	6	2.0	Artistic	2	1.0	Construction Trade	4	4.3
Transp. Eq. Operator	5	1.7	Farming	1	.5	Teaching	3	3.3
Construction Trade	4	1.3	Assembly Repair	1	.5	Artistic	2	2.2
Artistic	4	1.3	Unclassif.	1	.5	Machining	2	2.2
Machining	2	.7				Religious	1	1.1
Social Sciences	2	.7				Sports	1	1.1
Religious	1	.3				Mining	1	1.1
Sports	1	.3				Processing	1	1.1
Farming	1	.3				Material Handling	1	1.1
Mining	1	.3						
Processing	1	.3						
Material Handling	1	.3						

APPENDIX L

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE

ANOVA of ATI Total Score Blocking on Sex and VOS

Source	SS[a]	DF	MS	F	Sig. F
Main Effects	3539.43	2	1769.72	14.71	<0.001
Sex	3444.10	1	3444.10	28.67	<0.001
VOS	0.40	1	0.40	0.000	0.954
2-Way Interactions					
Sex x VOS	602.21	1	602.21	5.00	0.026
Explained	4141.65	3	1380.55	11.48	<0.001
Residual	35612.60	296	120.31		
Total	39754.25	299	132.96		

[a]Type II Sums of Squares.

ANOVA of ATI Total Score Blocking on Sex and Education

Source	SS[a]	DF	MS	F	Sig. F
Main Effects	5203.36	3	1734.45	15.83	<0.001
Sex	3833.57	1	3833.57	34.99	<0.001
Education	1584.94	2	792.47	7.23	0.001
2-Way Interactions					
Sex x Education	647.518	2	323.75	2.965	0.054
Explained	5850.87	5	1170.17	10.68	0.000
Residual	31994.61	292	109.57		
Total	37845.48	297	102.43		

[a]Type II Sums of Squares.

ANOVA of ATI Total Score Blocking on Sex and AWS

Source	SS[a]	DF	MS	F	Sig. F
Main Effects	5433.63	2	2716.82	23.36	<0.001
Sex	3232.57	1	3232.57	27.96	<0.001
AWS	1873.76	1	1873.76	16.11	<0.001
2-Way Interactions					
Sex x AWS	.30	1	.30	.003	0.96
Explained	5433.96	3	1811.31	15.57	<0.001
Residual	34309.05	295	116.30		
Total	39742.99	298	133.37		

[a]Type II Sums of Squares.

ANOVA of Credibility Subscale for Females Blocking on Extent of Sexual Abuse

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	2	162.20	81.10	3.98	.020
Within Groups	204	4158.65	20.39		
Total	206	4320.85			

ANOVA of Situational Blame Subscale for Females Blocking on Extent of Sexual Abuse

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	2	219.28	109.64	6.62	.002
Within Groups	204	3379.60	16.57		
Total	206	3598.88			

ANOVA of JIBS Total Score Blocking on Extent of Sexual Abuse

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	2	1024.24	512.12	6.27	.002
Within Groups	204	16673.67	81.73		
Total	206	17697.91			

APPENDIX M

LETTERS OF PERMISSION TO USE COPYRIGHTED MATERIALS

BEVERLEE CICCONE Ph.D.
4 Yorkshire Drive
Hackettstown, NJ 07840

August 1, 1990

Ms. Barbara McKenzie
350 51247 Range Road 231
Sherwood Park, Alberta
Canada T8B 1K7

Dear Ms. McKenzie:

I hereby grant permission for you to use the instrument I developed as my doctoral dissertation, "The Development of an Instrument to Study Attitudes Towards Incest" in your doctoral research.

As I told you over the telephone, I would like to see your research findings, and I would like to be notified of any future publications which might make use of it.

Good luck with your dissertation!

Sincerely,

Beverlee Ciccone, Ph.D.

Beverlee Ciccone, Ph.D.

BC/kc

Robert L. Helmreich, PhD
Director

1609 Shoal Creek
Austin, Texas 78701
512-480-9997
FAX: 512-480-0234

Called Nov 28/90 DO

Fax Transmittal Sheet

Fax to: Barbara McKenzie
Fax #: (403) 482-8810
Voice #:

Fax From: Dr. Robert Helmreich
Fax #: (512) 480-0234
Voice #: (512) 480-9997 (Lou Montgomery)

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NOTES:

permission granted to use Attitudes toward Women Scale in dissertation work.

Robert L. Helmreich

July 13, 1990

Ms. Barbara McKenzie
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T8B 1K7

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Douglas N. Jackson, Ph.D.
Senior Professor of Psychology

DNJ:sjb
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DEPARTMENT: Department of Psychology

ADDRESS: Edmonton, Alberta

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11/20/90

Barb McKenzie
Department of Educational Psychology
University of Alberta
Alberta, Canada

Dear Ms. McKenzie:

It is with great pleasure that I give you permission to use the Jackson Incest Blame Scale (JIBS) in your research. Please feel free to contact me should you have any questions regarding this research scale.

Sincerely,

Tom Jackson, Ph.D.
Director of Clinical Training